

THE MOSAICS OF ST. SOPHIA
AT ISTANBUL:
THE ROOMS ABOVE
THE SOUTHWEST VESTIBULE
AND RAMP

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This paper was completed and sent to Dumbarton Oaks in April 1974, but was supplemented in April 1977. It will be clear that we owe a considerable debt to Paul Underwood, to whose papers kept at Dumbarton Oaks we were allowed access. This publication would not have been possible without the use of his record. We are also grateful for essential help from Professor Cyril Mango, Mr. A. H. S. Megaw, and Mr. R. L. Van Nice. In addition, acknowledgment is due to the Central Research Fund of the University of London for the loan of a camera.

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that fragmentary mosaics, never concealed by Islamic plaster or whitewash, still decorate the suite of rooms which lies behind the door at the south end of the west gallery of St. Sophia.¹ These mosaics were the subject of two brief accounts by the late Paul A. Underwood, published on behalf of the Byzantine Institute, Inc. The first report appeared after a preliminary season of investigation (1950) in the rooms,^{1a} and the second after conservation, cleaning, and photography was completed in 1954.² Underwood also relied on observations made in these rooms when he came to discuss mosaic practices in Constantinople in his final publication of the Kariye Camii.³ These short presentations by Underwood immediately stimulated art-historical interest. The non-figurative mosaics attributed to the pre-iconoclastic period were used by Professor Ernst Kitzinger as a confirmation that the artists employed by Abd al-Malik to decorate the Dome of the Rock in 691–92 came from Constantinople.⁴ The figurative cycle attributed to a date after 843 was used by Professor André Grabar as evidence for a topical concern with theophanies in the ninth century in monumental art as well as in manuscript illustration.⁵ Meanwhile, a concise description of the mosaics became available in 1962 with the publication of the corpus of mosaics of St. Sophia put together by Professor Cyril Mango.⁶ Since he had in an earlier study already proposed an identification for the function of the rooms,⁷ Mango was able to propose on this basis a dating for the various periods of alteration to be observed.⁸ The aim of the present report is to assist the study of this area of the church by putting on record for the first time a full description of the mosaics. Our account is arranged according to an interpretation of the history

¹ For an overall plan of the gallery of St. Sophia, see R. L. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia in Istanbul. An Architectural Survey* (Washington, D.C., 1966), pl. 2.

^{1a} P. A. Underwood, "A Preliminary Report on Some Unpublished Mosaics in Hagia Sophia," *AJA*, 55 (1951) (hereafter Underwood, "Preliminary Report"), 367–70.

² *Idem*, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1954," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56) (hereafter Underwood, "Notes"), 291–300, esp. 291–94.

³ *Idem*, *The Kariye Djami*, I (New York, 1966), 172–83.

⁴ E. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), esp. 11, and fig. 10. Reprinted in *idem*, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies*, ed. W. E. Kleinbauer (Bloomington, 1976), 157ff. For a recent acceptance of this affiliation, see H. Stern, "Notes sur les mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher et de la Mosquée de Damas à propos d'une livre de Mme. M. G. van Berchem," *CahArch*, 22 (1972), 201–32.

⁵ A. Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), esp. 193–94, 213–14, 234, and 247.

⁶ C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, DOS, VIII (Washington, D.C., 1962) (hereafter Mango, *Materials*), esp. 44–46, 98, and figs. 47–48.

⁷ *Idem*, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959) (hereafter Mango, *Brazen House*), esp. 51–54.

⁸ *Idem*, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972) (hereafter Mango, *Art*), esp. 153; H. Kähler and C. Mango, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1967), esp. 47, 54; C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum," *DOP*, 26 (1972) (hereafter Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers"), 3–41, esp. 33 and note 86, 36, and figs. 44, 53.

of this part of the church, and an analysis of the structure to which they are attached precedes the discussion of the mosaics. This analysis of the indications of the masonry is necessarily detailed, though only those elements which affect the chronology are treated. We believe that such a chronology based on the material evidence is confirmed and refined by the identification of the rooms as a part of the Patriarchate of the Great Church.

The investigation in this area of St. Sophia was one of the first operations carried out by Underwood when he took over the direction of fieldwork by the Byzantine Institute on the death of its founder, Thomas Whittemore, in 1950. We were able to observe the mosaics and retake photographs in August 1973, and the present report incorporates the record made by Ernest Hawkins during conservation work between 1950 and 1952, as well as the uncompleted draft text which Underwood began in the 1950's. Since the work undertaken in the 1950's was limited to a consolidation of the mosaics and was not a full structural survey accompanied by a stripping of recent plaster overlays, our interpretations of the masonry evidence must be tentative and incomplete until such an investigation is carried out. In his Draft Report, Underwood recorded the friendly collaboration of the Department of Antiquities and the Museums of the Republic of Turkey and of two Directors of the Aya Sofya Muzesi during his work. In our turn, we can thank the present Director, Bay Hadi Altay, and Bay Şinasi Başeğmez for their help.

LOCATION OF ROOMS

The suite of rooms decorated with mosaics can today be entered only through the doorway at the south end of the west gallery of St. Sophia (figs. 1 and 11). This door opens directly into a long and relatively low room (fig. 26), which is the largest room of the suite and lies immediately above the entrance vestibule to the inner narthex at the southwest corner of the church, the present means of access for the public. The dimensions of the room above the southwest vestibule nearly coincide with it in length and breadth. In this report we shall refer to it as the Room Over the Vestibule.⁹ Smaller rooms lie to the east and west of it, but the three to the west lack decoration and their structure was disturbed when Sinan raised the southwest minaret (around 1573), not to mention alterations undertaken during the Fossati restorations.¹⁰ Present access to these rooms is through a marble doorway at the south end of the Room Over the Vestibule. Facing this Byzantine door-

⁹ This is designated "salle des prêtres" by F. Dirimtekin, in "Le local du Patriarcat à Sainte Sophie," *IstMitt*, 13-14 (1963-64), 113-27, and fig. 1; in the description of A. Pasadaios, 'Ο Πατριαρχικός Οίκος τοῦ Οἰκουµενικοῦ Θρόνου (Thessaloniki, 1976) (hereafter Pasadaios, 'Ο Πατριαρχικός Οίκος), 54 and fig. 2, this room is μ, and the Room Over the Ramp is ν.

¹⁰ W. Emerson and R. L. Van Nice, "Hagia Sophia and the First Minaret Erected after the Conquest of Constantinople," *AJA*, 54 (1950), 28-40. The restoration work of Gaspare and Guiseppe Fossati in St. Sophia in 1847-49 is described in Mango, *Materials*; he publishes their drawings, water-colors, and other records which are now kept in boxes or bound in the Album in the Archivio Cantonale at Bellinzona.

way, in the east wall of the Room Over the Vestibule, is a crude rectangular opening, which has become the only entrance to a high room, nearly square in plan, and surmounting the southwest ramp that climbs from ground level to the gallery of St. Sophia. We shall call this the Room Over the Ramp. A small square room is now reached only through an archway at the northwest corner of the Room Over the Ramp. Since we must distinguish this space as a separate architectural unit, we shall refer to it as the Alcove.¹¹ These three units are important because in them mosaic decoration has survived in a fragmentary state.

It is difficult for the viewer of these mosaics to recreate their original setting, not the least because of the deterioration in the conditions of lighting. The two large rooms are each lit today only by a pair of small rectangular windows in their south walls. These clumsy windows are visible on the exterior to the visitor who approaches St. Sophia from the south, and our illustrations of this view were photographed in the winter of 1936–37 when parts of the wall of the church were being stripped of plaster (figs. 2 and 3). These small windows were made up of the marble plaques of the former Byzantine windows, and were already in position by 1786, when a view of St. Sophia was made for Sir Richard Worsley.¹² The various changes to the structure of the rooms are the result of remodeling and maintenance work during the Byzantine period and of later consolidation during the Ottoman period. Due to settlement or other movement the structure of the southwest ramp tower seems to have caused continual trouble. At the time of the Fossati restoration of the mosque the rooms were in use for storage and were inaccessible to visitors (a circumstance which has not changed).¹³ Antoniadès, for instance, had to derive his

¹¹ It is our conclusion that a Byzantine writer (for example, Constantine Porphyrogenitos in the tenth century) would describe the Room Over the Vestibule as the Large *Sekreton* of the Patriarchate, and the Room Over the Ramp as the Small *Sekreton*. The identification of the Alcove is uncertain.

¹² Reproduced in Mango, *Brazen House*, fig. 27; see pp. 159–63.

¹³ *Idem*, *Materials*, 44–46, 139, for a translation of the relevant section from a letter by A. N. Murav'ev dated 6 July 1849. On pp. 45–46 and 132–33, Mango presents the information of Otto Vestiaris, derived from a visit in 1847 to a room off the South Gallery, possibly the Room Over the Vestibule. If these are the mosaics he describes, which is open to doubt, the only real information would be that the figure of St. John the Baptist was at this time visible in the Deesis. Mango (*ibid.*, 45, 132) records the information of a former chaplain to the Levant Company at Istanbul, James Dallaway (*Constantinople Ancient and Modern* [London, 1797], 53), that ca. 1795 the vault of a chapel, probably the Room Over the Vestibule, was the source of small fragments of mosaics sold to visitors. A visit to the Rooms not described in *Materials* is recorded in the unpublished notes of Rev. Joseph Dacre Carlyle, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, who visited a magazine in St. Sophia in search of manuscripts on 29 December 1799; cf. W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (London, 1967), esp. 9–10, 63–78, on Carlyle and the circumstances of his appointment to the staff of Lord Elgin's embassy as the scholar responsible for discovering classical manuscripts. In his account (British Library, MS Add. 27604, fols. 123–129), Carlyle locates the room behind two large doors at the end of the right-hand gallery from the stairs (his guides told him the story of the priest, celebrating here at the time of the fall of Constantinople, who was sealed in by an earthquake which blocked the door; Carlyle was entirely skeptical since only a rusty hinge slowed his entrance). The room he describes cannot be that in the southwest buttress, for it is too large. He claims that the room, formerly a chapel, had chambers of almost equal size on either side of it, and that the three preserved the remnants of a mosaic decoration of fine workmanship. He was told that the mosaics showed the effects of heat and smoke through damage from lightning. He says the figures were about life-size, and consisted of emperors (but no saints) wearing sacerdotal paraphernalia. He wondered if Constantine the Great was among them. His account, like that of all the early visitors to the Rooms, offers little information and not a few anomalies.

description and plan from Salzenberg (hence their agreements in error concerning the form of the vaulting of the Room Over the Vestibule and on the placing of doors).¹⁴ Salzenberg gained his information during his observations of the Fossati operations while he was on the spot between January and May 1848. If his record is reliable, marble revetment was then still in position, at least on the walls of the Room Over the Vestibule. Undoubtedly the vertical walls of the rooms were originally faced with marble revetment, for the attachments remain visible. Perhaps the squalid appearance of the rooms at that time (graphically described by Murav'ev in 1849) had induced the Fossati to ransack the marble; this may partly explain their success in replacing missing slabs in the lateral aisles and galleries of St. Sophia without the supply of any new marble.¹⁵ This suggestion seems to be supported by their drawing of the south wall of the Room Over the Ramp (Fossati Album, p. 38).¹⁶ On the left of this sheet is a careful watercolor copy of part of the vault mosaic which can be seen to have been more fully preserved at that time than it is now. On the right side of the sheet the drawing of the south wall is admittedly a less careful rendering of the evidence. However, since a record could at that time be made of the capital and column shaft between the central and western pointed arches and since both column and shaft were entirely submerged in a rubble fill by 1950 (fig. 18), the obvious deduction is that it was the Fossati who reinforced this opening. Moreover, in this fill, at a height of 2.25 m. in the southeast corner, we found the date 1849 incised with a trowel point into the mortar (fig. 4). Similar untidy pink mortar is visible in the extensive areas of repointing in the rooms, and can therefore be attributed to a campaign of consolidation undertaken after the removal of the marble revetment and carried out in the last months of the Fossati restoration, which was substantially completed by 13 July 1849.

This removal of the revetment no doubt revealed alarming cracks and deterioration in the brickwork. One area of particular concern, to judge from the quantity of pink mortar, was the south section of the party wall which divides the Room Over the Ramp from the Room Over the Vestibule. The trouble here was caused by the movement outward of the south wall of the Room Over the Ramp. Remedial repairs were carried out in the brickwork of the party wall in the area of the present rectangular door opening between the two rooms. The brick lintel of this doorway, bound in position by metal struts, may be attributed to Fossati activity. To judge from the lines of cracking in the brickwork above this opening (on both the east and west faces of the wall), the Fossati replaced a brick arch here over the doorway; this would have had an extrados at the same height as that above the Byzantine door opposite in the west wall of the Room Over the Vestibule. We suggest that there was a doorway in the south section of the party wall

¹⁴ E. M. Antoniades, *Ἐκφράσεις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας* (Leipzig–Athens, 1907–9), esp. II, 292ff.; W. Salzenberg, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom V. bis XII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1855), esp. 18, 32, and pl. xxxi, 7 and 8.

¹⁵ Mango, *Materials*, 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 48 reproduces the Fossati watercolor.

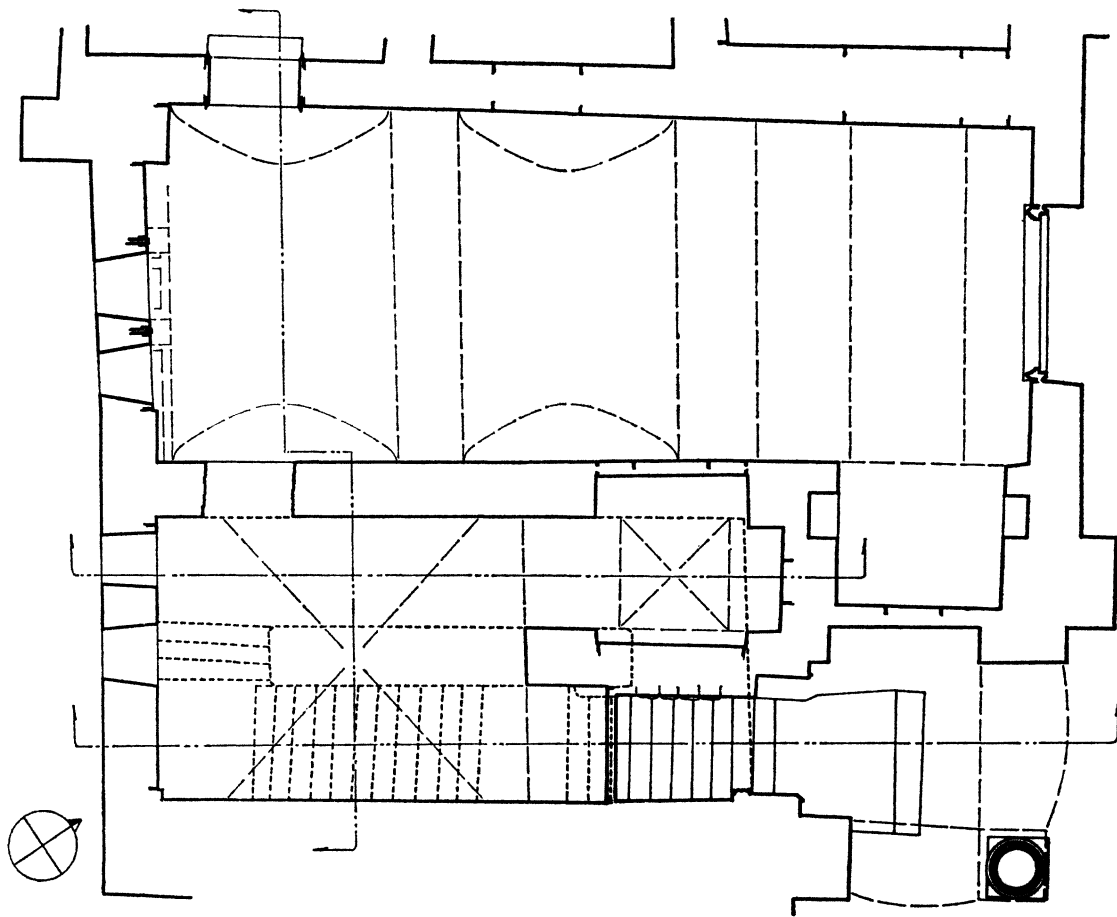
between the rooms from the time of their original construction. The existence of a door here from the beginning is supported by another observation: we found a broken piece of marble revetment low down on the south reveal of the doorway (on the east side). For these reasons we feel bound to postulate the existence during the Byzantine period of a grander doorway in this position, possibly with a socle or a molded marble enframing and with its supporting archway concealed under a marble revetment. An assumption that this access into the Room Over the Ramp was punched through in modern times is unjustified, and our understanding of the structural sequence of the rooms depends on its having been there from the beginning of their history.

The drawings made in these rooms in the mid-nineteenth century by the Fossati and Salzenberg demonstrate that although the mosaics were even then considerably mutilated, deterioration has since gone much further. The earthquake of 10 July 1894 no doubt took its toll. In 1937 the floor of the Room Over the Vestibule was, we have been told, littered with tesserae, and the truth of this report is easily recognized.

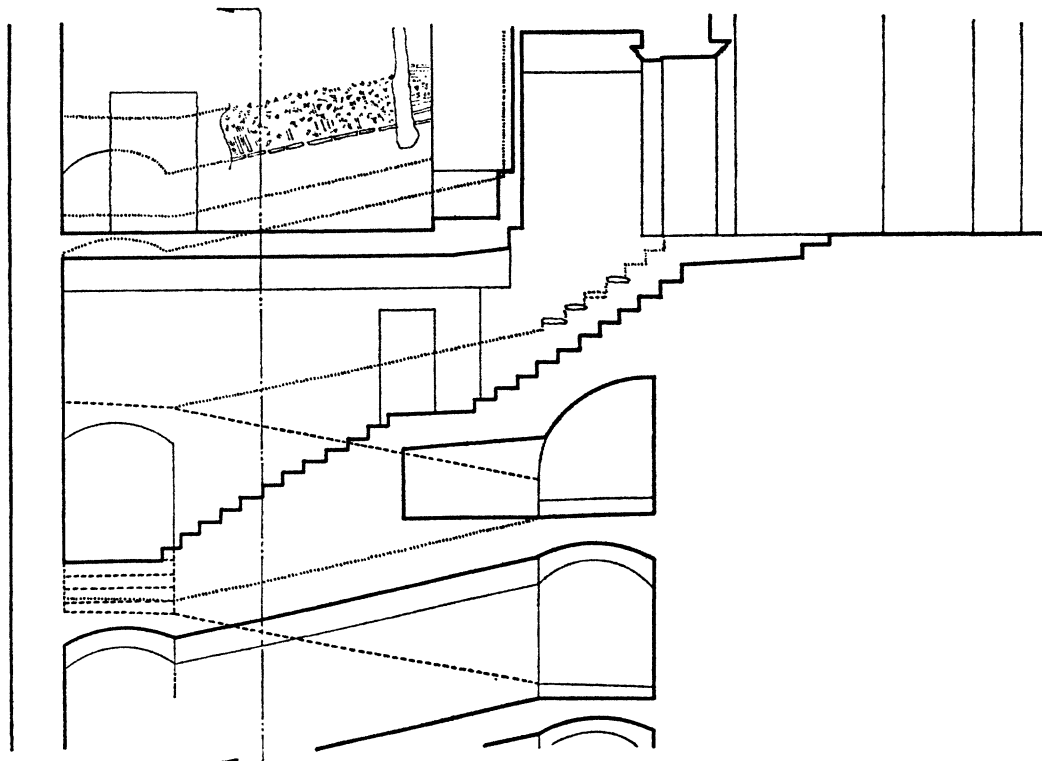
SOUTHWEST RAMP

The obvious starting point for an investigation of the structural history of the gallery-level rooms in the southwest area of St. Sophia is the ramp (figs. II and III). Since this formed one of the principal means of access into the gallery of the church, it must belong to the original Justinianic construction. The rampway runs at right angles to the church, and is carried in a tower which is joined to the church at its short north side (the interior measurements are 9.25 m. \times 4.65 m.). The ramp tower today forms the east side of the southwest vestibule. The length of the tower is divided along its center by a pier, about six meters long, that rises the full height of the rampway to give internal support to the series of superimposed, inclined, vaulted galleries in each of the two sides. These inclined galleries, which are the flights of the ramp, are vaulted by segmental barrel vaults; at the angles, the transitional element is a domical vault. These flights measure about 1.85 m. in width, and they have an average height, from floor to floor, of 3.20 m. The spiral formed by these flights around the central dividing pier ascends in a counterclockwise direction (as do the spirals in the other ramps of St. Sophia and the stairways in the piers). This ramp tower, as does its counterpart at the northwest corner, fits against the church so that its central pier more or less aligns with the massive wall which on the ground floor divides the naos from the inner narthex and which, above, divides the lateral galleries from the west gallery (fig. I). Because of this alignment, it was easiest for the builders to make the transition from the rampway into the gallery through the eastern side of both of these towers. This fact accounts for the differences in the treatment of the head of each of the ramps.

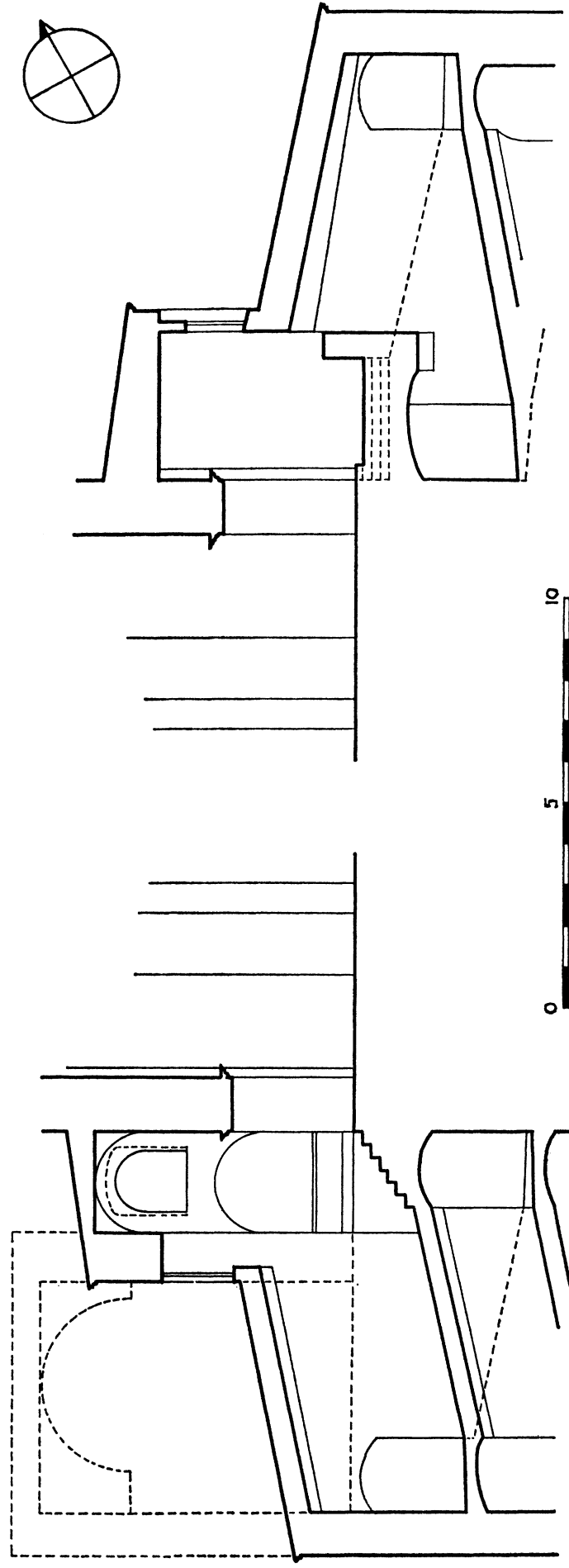
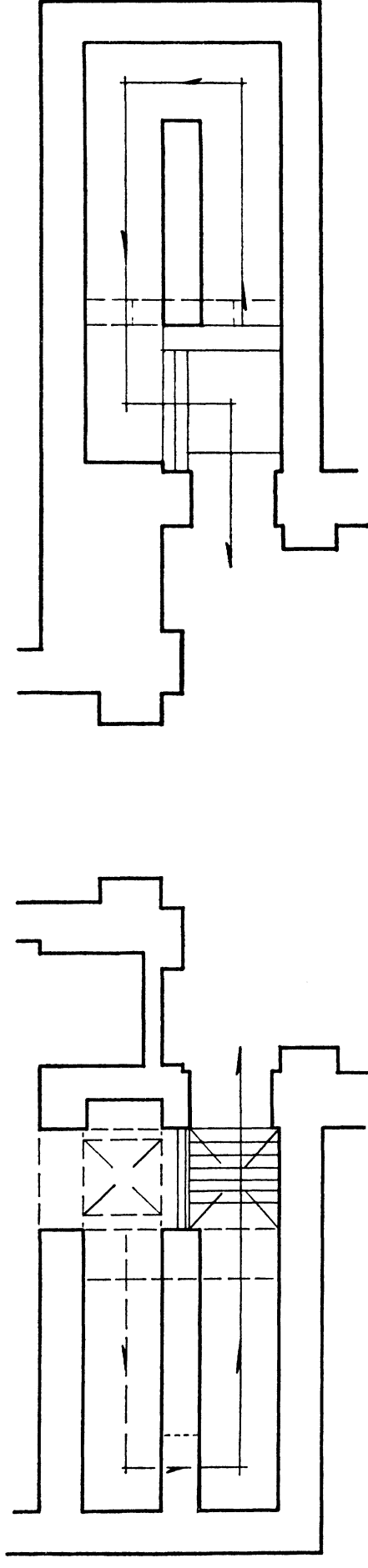
The Byzantine who made the ascent to the gallery by way of the southwest



I. Plan of Room Over the Vestibule and Room Over the Ramp



II. Head of Southwest Ramp, Section



III. Heads of Southwest and Northwest Ramps, Plans and Sections (after Underwood)

ramp could enter its tower by one of two available doors (in this respect the northwest ramp was different, for it seems to have had only one entrance, at the north end of its western face). The main doorway into the southwest ramp was in its western face; this still exists and its enframement is visible from within the ramp, although on the side now seen in the southwest vestibule the space has been filled to form a niche.¹⁷ To enter this door from the original ground level it must have been necessary to mount a few steps or a short sloping ramp, which gave access to what is strictly the second flight of the ramp. The first flight of the ramp, which is scarcely inclined, lay in the eastern half of the tower and was entered by the door in its south side.¹⁸

The northwest ramp has lost its Justinianic paving slabs, but it preserves its original ascent and its climb follows a regular turning pattern. The southwest ramp has preserved some of its Justinianic paving slabs, but in its upper parts the climb is no longer regular and it is clear that alterations have been made here to its original pattern. Starting the climb from the side door at ground level, the first six flights are regular (from the main west entrance door, there would be five regular flights): the first, third, and fifth run one above the other in a northerly direction on the east side of the tower, and the second, fourth, and sixth run in a southerly direction on the west side. The regularity of the ascent ends at the completion of these three circuits of the spiral. From the end of the sixth flight at its southern turn there begins a long flight of stairs, broken at three short landings (fig. III). Except for the first four risers, which occur within the turning of the ramp, the stairs run steeply upward without turning within the east side of the tower. The flight consists of twenty-five risers, which arrive at gallery level in a awkward manner about three meters beyond the entrance doorway.

This final ascent by means of a long flight of stairs was not the original Justinianic system, but represents an alteration carried out in the Byzantine period. This can be proved from a number of observations, which show that the original scheme on this side of the church was as regular as that on the northwest side, and that the original southwest ramp was composed of nine runs. The original final ninth run finished at the summit of the ramp in a short flight of steps of not more than seven risers which terminated at the threshold of the entrance door into the gallery. The present long flight is a Byzantine replacement for the seventh and ninth runs of the ramp, which lay on the east side of the tower. When the alterations were made, the eighth run, on the west side, became redundant; it was not, however, eliminated, but simply left isolated and disused. This eighth run still remains, with its vaults retaining the original Justinianic fresco decoration of the ramp. It is accessible today through a door from one of the landings in the long flight of stairs.

¹⁷ Van Nice, *Saint Sophia in Istanbul* (note 1 *supra*), pl. 13, cf. pls. 16, 20; see also the discussion by C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in Justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1973) (hereafter Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*), esp. 53. In our opinion the southwest ramp had two entrance doors from the beginning.

¹⁸ It is suggested below (p. 200 and note 42) that this south door was regarded as a side door in the Byzantine period.

The evidence for the original form of the southwest ramp must be given in detail, for it indicates that the alterations occurred at a time early in the history of St. Sophia. We believe that the first mosaics in this area of the building date from this structural alteration. The indications that there once existed a final short flight of steps leading up to the threshold of the entrance door and that this flight was earlier than the present stairway are no longer visible, but were fortunately photographed in 1954 (fig. 5) and are recorded in the survey of Van Nice. The stumps of three ancient stair treads projected slightly through the plaster. These stumps must have remained embedded when an earlier flight was cut out to introduce the new long flight of stairs (the top of the lowest of these treads was 1.30 m. below the level of the gallery and 1.85 m. short of the line of the exterior wall of the church where the ramp tower adjoins it). If there were five or six treads in this original flight, it can be estimated that the top step reached gallery level precisely at the wall of the church. The head of this staircase was marked by the monumental marble doorway built in the thickness of this south wall of St. Sophia. The termination of the ascent by the southwest ramp to the gallery of the church by a short steep climb up to the threshold of the door must, through the lack of a landing in front of this door, have felt a little awkward; it certainly contrasts with the well-lit final landing of the northwest ramp. When the original system of the southwest ramp was altered, the new stairway and the door were narrowed. The threshold of the door had to be cut away, as the new stairway was lower, to provide passage under the Room Over the Ramp. To give this headroom, the new stairs had to encroach into the south gallery of the church.

In addition to the evidence of the stairs and the doorway, further information about the alterations to the ramp is available through investigation of the masonry of the Room Over the Ramp. The clue to a dating of this work is offered by this masonry. In order to reestablish the original course of the final ninth run of the ramp, Underwood prepared a measured drawing and duly connected the (estimated) bottom of the original (destroyed) stairway with the still existent floor at the southern turning of the eighth run (fig. III). The angle of inclination for the floor so obtained is similar to that of other runs in this ramp. Furthermore, if the ninth run was vaulted along the same height as the others, then its vault would have been higher than the present floor level of the Room Over the Ramp. One can be more precise than this, for since the average vertical dimension of the other runs was, from floor to floor, approximately 3.20 m., it follows that one would expect the springing of the vault of the ninth run to have lain at a height of about 1.30 m. above the present floor of the Room Over the Ramp at its northeast corner. An examination of the surviving sections of Byzantine masonry of the east wall of the Room Over the Ramp confirms that the ninth run of the ramp did once exist, but that its vault was sliced away when the Room Over the Ramp was built. The walls of the Room Over the Ramp are a vertical continuation of the original exterior walls of the ramp tower. All that now remains of the east side of the upper parts of the ninth run of the ramp is the indistinct scar

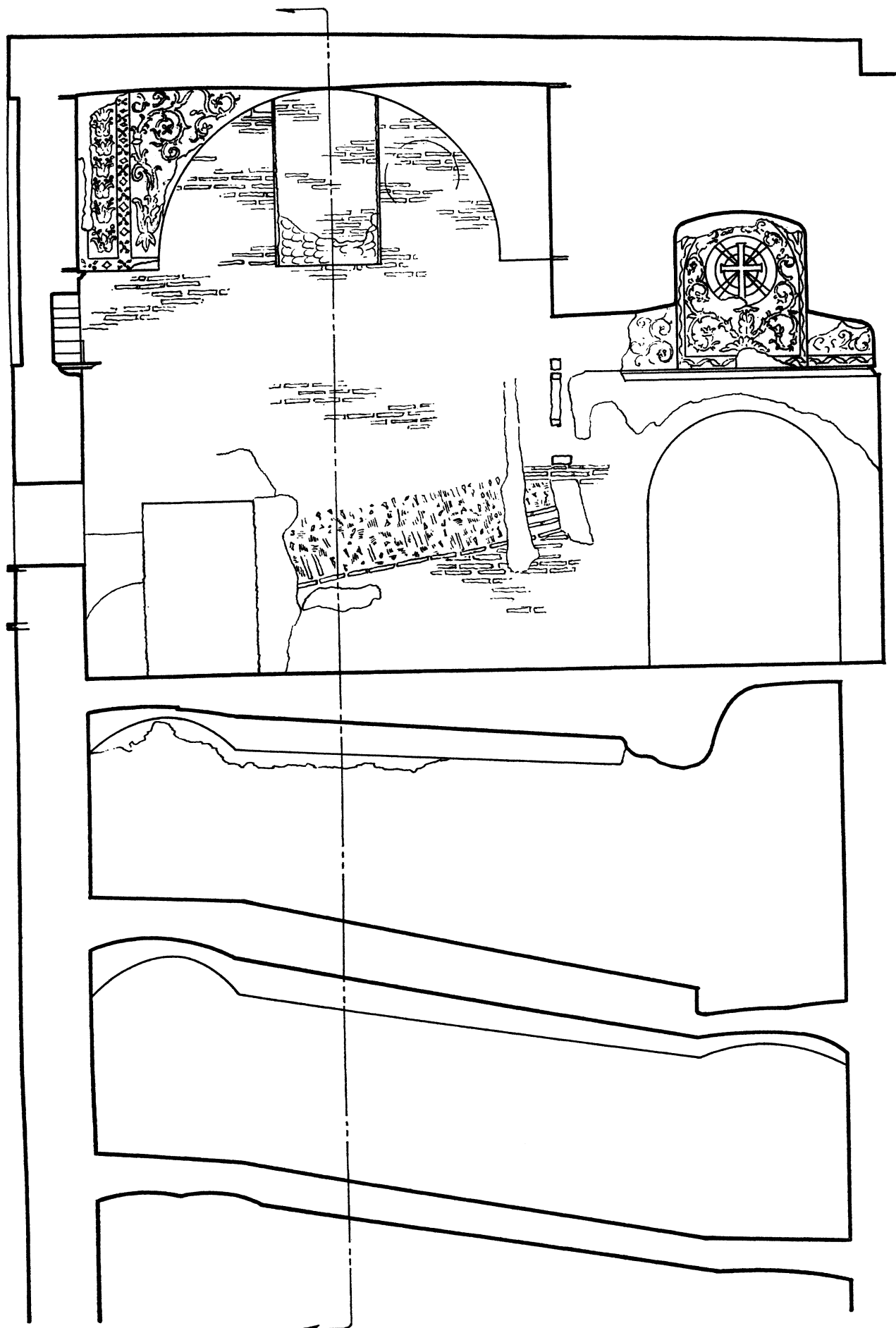
of an inclined vault at the anticipated height on the east wall of the Room Over the Ramp and, in addition, the indication of the skewback of its domical vault when the run turned at the southeast corner of the ramp tower.

The implications of this evidence are quite unambiguous, and the conclusion that at some time the original superstructure of the southwest ramp was taken off in order to accommodate the present Room Over the Ramp as a kind of penthouse can be stated with certainty. It is relevant to note the other information to be derived from an examination of the walls of this Room, for it helps in reconstructing the Justinianic appearance of the ramp and in reaching a decision about the date of the remodeling. Such an examination is simplified by the present bare state of the walls—for the lost marble revetment was the sole Byzantine covering of the masonry—but is complicated by the extensive (and essential) Turkish repairs.

The sloping scar on the east wall of the Room Over the Ramp has already been mentioned, but the indications on its west wall are considerably more distinctive (figs. III and 10). Along this wall a clearly visible scar slopes downward from north to south. It is interrupted only by the rectangular door (leading into the Room Over the Vestibule) which cuts off the north side of the scar of a domical vault whose skewback can be discerned at the southwest corner of the room (fig. 6). As is the case on the east side of the room, this scar must represent the remains of the vaulting of a run in the ramp. The scar is 90 cm. in thickness; its lower edge would represent the internal springing of a segmental barrel vault whose apex would have lain roughly midway between the two edges. The highest level at which the upper edge can be seen, in the northwest corner of the room, is at about 2.65 m. (fig. III). This scar on the west wall (possibly a little higher than that on the east wall—the exact point is not certain) shows that there existed a barrel-vaulted passage on the west half of the ramp tower which ran above the eighth (penultimate) run. In other words, there was a tenth section in the ramp tower, with its vault running parallel to that of the ninth run which gave the final ascent to the gallery. The central pier on which both of these vaults rested in common was removed when the floor of the Room Over the Ramp was laid. The function of this tenth run needs some explanation. One purpose must have been to facilitate the roofing of the ramp tower by equalizing the levels of the vaults over the passages. It probably also had some value as a tunnel between a window in the south wall of the ramp tower and the structures at the head of the ramp, which have at least partially survived. The small room, which now opens off the northwest corner of the Room Over the Ramp and which we have termed the Alcove, seems, unlike the Room Over the Ramp, to be a part of the original Justinianic structure of the ramp tower. It is with this Alcove that the vault of the tenth run of the ramp communicated. Since the Alcove is decorated with mosaics, it is at least feasible to consider them as belonging to the original decoration of the church, although it must be noted that the decoration of the ramp runs which survives (in the eighth and tenth runs) was executed in fresco.

It will be impossible to understand the architectural changes in this area of St. Sophia without attempting to visualize the appearance of the southwest ramp tower in its original state (before the Room Over the Ramp and the other rooms were added). We visualize the exterior façade of the ramp, as viewed from the south, to have been roofed over a pair of arches, of which the western certainly, and the eastern probably, enframed a window. The roofing would have sloped upward from above these two arches toward the main south wall of the church. This roof is unlikely to have been a simple lean-to affair. Some assistance in reconstructing this superstructure is gained by moving around the church to observe the roof of the northwest ramp, for this has survived in somewhat nearer its original form (fig. 1). The northwest ramp was never surmounted by rooms at gallery level. There are, of course, certain differences between these two ramps which existed from the beginning (figs. I and IV). The northwest ramp tower is equal in width to ours, and is attached to the church in an equivalent, but reversed, position. However, the two towers are of different lengths, with the consequence that the pattern of the ascent has some differences. Whereas the southwest ramp tower extends to a length of 9.25 m. beyond the wall of the church and originally made the ascent in nine runs (counting from the side door) with a small flight of steps at its summit, the northwest ramp tower is longer and extends about one meter farther out from the wall. The ascent on this side of the church is achieved in only seven runs of ramp with four steps at the summit. The essential differences between the ramps occur at the final stage before entrance is made into the gallery of the church. The ultimate run of the northwest ramp rises on the west side of the tower, but for structural reasons (as noted above) the door into the gallery had to be on the east side. This problem was solved by making a landing in front of the entrance so that the visitor could make the transition from the west to the east side of the ramp tower. This landing was well lighted by means of a large triple window, facing north, which was presumably contained within a semicircular tympanum, for its lights were divided by two mullions discernible under plaster from inside and clearly visible from the exterior (fig. 1).

The roofing of the northwest ramp tower was carried out in two levels. The outer (northern) section covers the sixth and seventh runs of the ramp, and it slopes upward toward the church. In making this section the builders had to resolve one difficulty; the vault of the final seventh run sloped as a matter of course upward toward the church, but the floor of the penultimate sixth run rose upward in the contrary direction (toward the north). The solution was to raise the vault of the sixth run so that it too rose toward the church and parallel to the seventh run. This treatment, which allowed the roofing to be laid regularly across the outer section of the tower, differs from the solution of the problem of the southwest ramp (where the supernumerary vault was built), but it would have resulted in the same effect externally. The outer section of the roof of the northwest ramp ran upward until it met the transverse window wall through which the landing in front of the gallery



IV. Room Over the Ramp, Section, looking West

door was lit. This transverse wall supported a high barrel vault which spanned the complete width of the ramp over the landing. This vault was roofed and so completed at a higher level the roofing of the northwest ramp with a second inner section.

Applying to the southwest ramp this information about Justinianic building practice acquired from consideration of the superstructure of the northwest ramp, it seems clear that here also the roofing was arranged in two sections. The lower outer roof was similar in appearance to that on the northwest tower, but at the higher roof level in front of the gallery door the clerestory system was handled differently. As on the northwest tower, the lower section was terminated at a transverse wall, for this still survives as the lower part of the north wall of the Room Over the Ramp. The pair of roofed barrel vaults of the ninth and tenth runs of the ramp met and pierced this transverse wall (as is the case in the northwest ramp), and this rose vertically above their roof level. In our interpretation of the masonry, this transverse wall enclosed clerestory windows facing south, and so this member had the same function as its equivalent on the other side of the church. The windows do not seem, however, to have been of the same style—with mullions—as those in the northwest ramp. If it is correct to interpret the vertical grooves in the east and west walls of the Room Over the Ramp which align with the south face of this transverse wall as fittings for window frames, then it would mean that the Justinianic transverse wall contained two separate arched windows in these positions (figs. 13 and 19). Whether or not the transverse wall continued vertically upward beyond these windows is now impossible to observe, for any such extension would have been taken down when the present north tympanum of the Room Over the Ramp was built. To determine how the final section of the ramp tower in front of the church was roofed is therefore a matter of speculation.

The fact that the circumstances at the head of the northwest ramp in front of the gallery door differ from those in our ramp best explains the apparent divergences in treatment of the final stage. The space between the transverse wall and the south wall of the church did not require the landing and transverse barrel vault of the northwest ramp because the final ninth run of the ramp was on the east side of the tower and so led directly to the gallery door (fig. 11). The final area of the ramp was divided into two nearly equal squares; the one at the west being the space covered by the square domical vault, which we have termed the Alcove. Probably this vault belongs to the original ramp superstructure. The space it covers would not have been traversed in the course of the ascent to the gallery. It lay to the left of the final, short stairway, and as there is no landing on this stairway, the space must have been difficult of access, and perhaps divided by a balustrade. Unless a porter was stationed in it,¹⁹ its only function would have been as a lantern tower

¹⁹ For reference to the doorkeepers of St. Sophia, see T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa., 1971) (hereafter Mathews, *Early Churches*), 154, note 110.

at the head of the ramp. As we suggested above, it had an opening on its south side which communicated with the tunnel vault of the tenth run of the ramp, and quite likely it had also a window on the west side. It certainly contained a high window on its east side (now filled with rubble). We suppose this east window to be an exterior window looking out above a lower roof over the eastern square in front of the gallery door. Underwood, on the other hand, supposed that this eastern square too was vaulted by a similar tower (fig. IV). The question could be settled by probing the Turkish fill over the eastern square. The original form of the final inner section of our ramp tower must therefore remain conjectural, but one conclusion is sufficiently clear; good lighting and ventilation must have been the main considerations of the builders, but the achievement of these aims led to different solutions on each side of the church.

DECORATION OF SOUTHWEST RAMP

Some surfaces of the parts of this ramp which we have attributed to the Justinianic period have retained their Byzantine decoration. There are mosaics in the vault of the Alcove, and frescoes in the eighth (disused) run and on the west vertical wall of the tenth (extra) run (now the west wall of the Room Over the Ramp below the scar of the springing of its vault).

The mosaic scheme of rinceaux and crosses in medallions (figs. 22–25) was dated to the original Justinianic decoration by Underwood on the parallel of the soffits of the smaller arches inside the church.²⁰ Recent studies invite caution in dating the ornamental mosaics of St. Sophia, for the unity of its interior decoration was maintained over the Byzantine period by the imitation of Justinianic designs in successive periods of restoration. These periods are best distinguished by their differences of technique and of materials rather than by the indications of style.²¹ Such considerations lead us to attribute the mosaics of the Alcove to one such later period of restoration in which the forms used were traditional (see *infra*, pp. 309–10).

The wall paintings can only have been designed to decorate the ramp at the beginning of its history (532–37). Their iconographic function was to help the transit of a spectator moving between the church and the world outside. Across the vault of the eighth run was a large floral cross within a medallion (figs. 7 and 8). On each side of the medallion, growing out of a double leaf ornament, a line of similar flowers runs along the apex of the segmental barrel vault. A border lies along the inclined springing of this vault, and consists of indented lines, like a running chevron. On the vertical wall below this border, at least in one fragment on the east wall, was a small plain cross with flared arms. Other patches on the vertical walls are indistinct (for example, on the west wall of the tenth run, fig. 6), but seem mostly to have floral motifs.

²⁰ Underwood, "Notes," 294.

²¹ Progress in the distinction of techniques and materials is made by C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 19 (1965) (hereafter Mango and Hawkins, "Apse Mosaics"), 115–51, esp. 148; and *idem*, "Church Fathers," esp. 32–35.

These wall paintings have not been cleaned. The background of the medallion was probably in the natural white of lime plaster. The lines of the concentric circles and radiating beams are drawn in dark earth red, as are also the semi-circles in its border. The rest of the outlines are drawn in black (flowers, rosette at center, jewels in segments at the end of the arms of the cross, and the [twenty] trefoil border motifs). The flowers in the cross seem to have been alternatively red with yellow spots, and yellow with red spots. The concentric circles around the cross were in three colors, yellow, white, and blue-grey. In all, a limited palette was used, and a linear style.²² It is a routine decoration, yet shows that attention was given to details of finish in even the ramps of St. Sophia.

CONSTRUCTION OF ROOM OVER RAMP AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The completion of the wall paintings in the runs of the ramp seems conclusive evidence that the structure was in use in its original form before the alterations were made to this tower. The failure to finish off some details of the fittings (such as the groove for a ramming rod on the church side of the gallery door), is better explained as an anomaly rather than taken as support for the idea that the alterations happened during one virtually continuous and pragmatic campaign of building. On our interpretation, the construction of the Room Over the Ramp was part of a substantial new enterprise in the southwest corner of St. Sophia in the later sixth century. The belief that changes were made to this ramp tower, which had until this time been an isolated structure, and that these changes occurred quite soon after the church had been completed, depend on a number of structural features which must now be described.²³

The Room Over the Ramp fills the east-west width of the ramp tower (4.65 m.), and lies in the southern two-thirds of the tower (6 m.). It is covered

²² A similar type of wallpainting is found in the chapel in the south wall of the Sinai monastery; see G. A. Soteriou, *Τοιχογραφία τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ Μαρτυρίου εἰς Παρεκκλησίᾳ τοῦ τείχους τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, *Studi Bizantini*, 9 (1957), 389–91; and G. H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian* (Ann Arbor [1973]), plate vol., pls. cxxxiv–cxxxv, cxciv–cxcviii.

²³ Our interpretation differs from the conclusion of Underwood in his Draft Report, in which he decided that the south wall of the Room Over the Ramp belongs to a later phase than the other three walls. He therefore made suggestions about its possible appearance when the Room was built. He also concluded that this original Room, as reconstructed by him, had a mosaic decoration which was entirely removed to make way for our *phase one* scheme. Our opposition to this theory and our contention that the present south wall is original to the Room derives from an examination of the *antae*: they are bonded to the side walls but not to the Turkish fill (see figs. 2, 14). The problem needs to be mentioned, since our dating of *phase one* in this paper has received criticism from D. H. Wright in a letter dated 25 August 1974, and in "The Shape of the Seventh Century in Byzantine Art," *First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers* (Cleveland, 1975), 9ff. Wright is prepared to ascribe the original construction of the Room Over the Ramp to the reign of Justin II, but proposes that our *phase one* is later, belonging to the period of Justinian II. We reject Wright's suggestion, which is also in line with the second thoughts of Underwood.

by a groin vault (to a height of 7.60 m.) (figs. 1 and iv for plan and section; and figs. 11, 12, and 13). Each wall is surmounted by a semicircular tympanum with a central window (about 2.70 m. in height), though none of these windows is now open to the light. The northern wall is pierced by two arches, whose common pier is a vertical continuation of the central supporting and dividing wall of the ramp beneath. In the original ramp tower the upper parts of these two arches had enclosed the clerestory windows in front of the gallery door, but they were adapted to new functions. The Room Over the Ramp was originally floored with marble slabs, for we found traces of these in the southwest corner about 10 cm. below the present floor level (fig. 6). The original floor therefore lay at roughly the level of that of the west gallery of the church. Since we believe that the Room Over the Vestibule, which communicates directly into the west gallery, was built at the same time as the Room Over the Ramp, we infer that the levels of these rooms were determined by the floor of the west gallery. (Before the present wooden flooring of the Room Over the Vestibule was laid, outlines of former floor slabs could be seen in the mortar.)

The decision to convert the top of the southwest ramp into rooms at gallery level initiated a number of operations. To understand these, it is again best to refer to the evidence on the west wall of the Room Over the Ramp (figs. iv and 10). Reading from the floor upward, the diagonal scar and the wall below it is all that survives of the previous summit of the tower (the tenth run). The sharpest feature is the inclined line of bricks on which the springing of the barrel vault lay. The upper level of the scar marks the roof line, but now appears somewhat irregular. The new west wall of the room was built upward on this preexisting base, and so became the upward continuation of the wall which at ground level forms the eastern partition of the present southwest vestibule. At the upper level, however, this wall is thinner on its western side by the breadth of one brick.²⁴

Since the brickwork on this wall belongs to two separate operations, a comparison should help to decide their difference, if any, in date. We measured bricks in this wall, measured, where possible, ten courses (from top of brick to top of course), and observed the technique of pointing. Other surfaces were examined where accessible. This information can be tabulated as follows:

ORIGINAL BRICKWORK OF RAMP

a. *In the eighth (disused) run*

measurements of bricks	length	0.34 to 0.38 m.
	height	0.04 to 0.06
measurements of ten courses	west wall	0.96 to 0.97
	east wall	0.96 to 0.96
	north wall (i.e., south wall of the church)	1.07

²⁴ This information was communicated by R. L. Van Nice (10 October 1973).

The pointing was done with shallow concave curves; in the mortar at the end of some bricks there occur random oblique slashes, slanting to left or right.

b. *Below the scar on the west wall in the Room Over the Ramp*

measurements of bricks	average	0.37 by 0.05 m.
notional measurements	0.90 m. (i.e., 0.36 m. for four courses)	
of ten courses	and	
	1.00 m. (i.e., 0.80 m. for eight courses)	

The pointing is identical with that in the eighth run.

BRICKWORK OF VERTICAL EXTENSION IN ROOM OVER RAMP

measurements of bricks	length	0.36 to 0.37 m.
	height	0.045 to 0.05
measurements of ten courses	west wall above scar	0.97
	east wall above scar	1.07
	(at about 4 m. from the floor)	

The pointing technique was similar to that in areas (a) and (b), and the random oblique slashes occurred here also.

It is quite clear from this sample that there is no conspicuous change in bricklaying between the two operations. On the other hand, the observed similarities between the two phases are not an indication of contemporaneity in view of the notorious conservatism of masons. Since both phases use a technique which was denoted by Ward Perkins as characteristic of the Justinianic work in St. Sophia,²⁵ it seems unlikely that the construction of the Room Over the Ramp could be much later than the sixth century.

The nature of the conversion work must be described further before a decision as to its date can be made. The work was of two kinds; adaptations of the preexisting structure, and the construction of new spaces. The adaptations will be taken first. Requiring only brief mention are the conspicuous, long, vertical slots in the west and east walls (figs. 10 and 19), made flush with the wall surfaces by a fill of broken pieces of brick. These cut through the scars of the ramp vaults. Their purpose and relative history in the Room can be deduced from their position below the arch of the vaults; their use was as constructional elements for the shuttering of the vaults.

In the eastern recess of the north wall, in a space originally occupied by the vault of the ninth run of the ramp and the transverse window above it, is

²⁵ J. P. Ward Perkins, "Notes on the Structure and Building Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture," in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report*, ed. D. Talbot Rice (Edinburgh, 1958), esp. 71-72. We have some measurements from the Room Over the Vestibule, although its walls are smeared with Fossati, and more recent, pointing: e.g., brick sizes: average 0.36 by 0.05 m. in the east wall
average 0.36 by 0.04 m. in the west wall
ten courses: 0.96 m., 0.99 m., and 1.01 m. in the east wall
0.87 and 0.88 m. in the west wall.

now found a large square cupboard (fig. 13, on the right, and fig. 19, on the left). The back was presumably closed at the time of the conversion, but its present covering of planks must be more recent. The thick wooden beams across the top, inserted into the voussoirs of the arch and supporting a brick fill, are apparently of the Byzantine period, for inside the cupboard at the top of the left side a fragment of painted plaster overlays the beams and, where the design can be made out, the motifs look Byzantine rather than Ottoman. There is a border (0.25 m. in width) outlined in red which enclosed a four-stepped pyramid design, painted alternately in black and white. The body of the pyramid (or lozenge) is yellow ochre, ornamented with red or green spots. Below the border there was simulated marble veining; much of the painted plaster has fallen since 1954. The fitting of the cupboard filled in the slot belonging to the previous window grid (fig. 19).

The arch on the west side of the north wall now opens into the Alcove (figs. 13 and 23). The slot into which the original window grid (above the tenth run of the ramp) had been inserted is not filled, unlike its equivalent in the east arch. Unless the brick fill has simply fallen out, its absence raises the supposition that a partition remained here, a possibility supported by other clues: the surfaces of the arch on the Alcove side of the slot are rendered with plaster and so lacked a revetment of marble such as covered the walls of the Room Over the Ramp; set across this entrance to the Alcove, at the northwest corner and dipping slightly to the east, we observed a socle of white marble. Since other remnants in the Room show that it was originally skirted by such a socle—one fragment on the west wall covered the painted plaster of the Justinianic period—the probable conclusion is that the Alcove was treated separately from the Room Over the Ramp and that there was a partition, not necessarily opaque, between them. It follows that the Alcove was designed to communicate with the Room Over the Vestibule, which it did through a wide archway (1.95 m. high) in its west wall, now blocked by a Turkish masonry fill, which was probably inserted sometime after Salzenberg's visit.

The existence of a partition between the Alcove and the Room Over the Ramp supports the suggestion already made that access to the Room was through a previous grander doorway at the south end of the party wall between it and the Room Over the Vestibule. There is still another possible access door to the Room. The direction of cracks in the east wall of the Room (though in a section extensively rebuilt in Turkish times) suggests that on this side also, opposite the west doorway, there was an opening. This might have led to an elevated walkway to the chapel in the southwest buttress.²⁶ The implication of the relation between the Rooms is that the appointments of the Room

²⁶ Texier, who planned St. Sophia between 1833 and 1835 (cf. C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *JdI*, 80 [1965], 305–36), gained access to the Room Over the Ramp. In his drawings, now in the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, he marked an opening at this point on the east wall. He, too, may have been guessing, unless at that time there was a revetment which offered clues now lost.

Over the Ramp depended from the beginning on the existence beside it of the Room Over the Vestibule. The point must be pursued later.

To return to the Alcove, it underwent another adjustment—caused by the construction of the Room Over the Ramp—which rendered its function as a lantern tower at the head of the ramp obsolete. It was probably at this stage that its Justinianic floor was removed, but evidence of this change can be observed now only from below. In the eighth run of the ramp, which lies underneath the Alcove and the west side of the Room Over the Ramp, we observed a narrow inserted staircase (fig. 7).²⁷ To accommodate this, the previous flooring of the Alcove must have been removed and the domical vault below it cut away to the skewback, the remnants of which can be discerned. The new stairway rose in the northwest corner of the eighth ramp with a flight of ten treads and turned to the right when it met the exterior wall of the church; the eleventh tread is observed in the jog here. It therefore formed a small spiral staircase, turning within the space of the Alcove and lit by its high east window. The square doorway from the eighth run onto the long flight of stairs of the converted ramp was presumably knocked through when this new spiral staircase was built. These arrangements gave access from the Room Over the Vestibule through the Alcove down into the eighth run of the ramp, and, if desired, to the exterior of the church without passing through the gallery. This private stairway offered a use for the eighth run of the ramp. Possibly the Alcove could also have acted in the nature of a diaconicon for the small oratory beside its entrance archway from the Room Over the Vestibule. It should be mentioned that at some later date the Alcove was refloored, rendering the stairway unusable, and that this new floor was supported by a brick packing which rests on the stair treads. Whether the new floor was Byzantine or Turkish could be investigated by removal of the packing. Perhaps it belonged to the ninth-century redecoration of the rooms, as is suggested later.

The elements mentioned so far witness the kind of adjustments made to the existing structure of the ramp tower. We can now turn to the positive new features of the architecture. That there are indeed two phases of construction can be confirmed once more by looking at the vaulting. For example, in the northeast corner of the Room, in the zone between the springing of the arch of the cupboard and its apex, the north and east walls are not bonded together, generally a clue in vertical members to a difference in time of construction (figs. 13 and 19). Let us now look at the south wall (fig. 12). As it now exists, this wall is a jumble of repairs. Two *anta* piers, bonded to their lateral walls, form the southeast and southwest corners.²⁸ The rubble masonry between these two *antae* is a late fill, belonging in its present state to Fossati work in 1849. The *antae* rise to a height of about 4.15 m. and have thin marble cappings that return into the thickness of the fill. Above this level is a zone of brick masonry, about 1.20 m. in height, in which three pointed arches open. Their

²⁷ Planned by Van Nice, *Saint Sophia in Istanbul*, pl. 16.

²⁸ On this point, see *supra*, note 23.

shape is indisputable, since their soffits are carefully revetted with sheets of marble, in the same manner as in the nave arcades of the mid-fifth-century church of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki. The use of pointed arches might have been an esthetic device to increase the impression of height in the Room, but it seems more likely that the demands of swift and sound workmanship were predominant. The two free arches rest on impost capitals and columns. The partially visible capital on the east column (fig. 18) is decorated on its north face with a cross in relief, its arms flared at the ends. The columns were joined by tie-beams. Probably the columns were seated on a base of heavy stone slabs; such a course penetrates the thickness of the wall at about 0.85 m. above floor level, and its molded projection on the exterior is still visible (fig. 2).

The zone of the pointed arches continues upward, without any change in materials or technique, to form the south tympanum. Remnants of an applied marble molding mask the line of division between these two upper zones—it is not a cornice embedded in the wall, but is held in place by metal clamps. The window in the center of the tympanum is filled with rubble. This south tympanum, along with the other three and, indeed, with all comparable tympana in St. Sophia, is not bonded to the walls or arch, but is conceived as a thick curtain wall. In all, the south wall was composed of four zones: a base of solid masonry, a zone with three openings, a zone of pointed arches, and a semicircular tympanum.

Underwood's conclusion that the south wall was different in date from the other walls depended partly on his observation that this one is exceptional in being devoid of pointing. We interpret all the walls as coeval, and would explain this particular difference as due to the different function of this window wall and to later maintenance work. We visualize from the beginning a high triple window looking out to the south of the church, producing a kind of high-level portico through which spectators in the Augustaion could see into the room or its occupants could display themselves. Perhaps there is some parallel in the Loggia of Old St. Peter's in the Vatican. This south window, together with the high windows of the three other tympana, would have ensured the good lighting of the Room and especially of its vault mosaics.

The Room Over the Ramp was a construction of some architectural merit, though its chief quality is its decoration. It is clear, as shown above, that it was only one part of a larger scheme of work, though the structural relationships of the set of rooms now needs further clarification. If the doorway at the southern end of the west wall of the Room Over the Ramp is an original element, it follows that the Room Over the Vestibule was either earlier than or coeval with the Room Over the Ramp. Our conclusion is that all the gallery-level rooms and other upper apartments attached to the southwest corner of St. Sophia are later additions to the Justinianic church and were built in a single operation. Mathews and Strube have discussed the evidence for supposing that on the northwest side of the church the entrance to the ramp lay in an open area outside the inner narthex, and they reached the natural

conclusion that on the southwest, too, the vestibule was not original.²⁹ The consequence is that any structures supported by this vestibule must be later than the original church, though not later, in our opinion, than the building of the Room Over the Ramp. Before the erection of the vestibule, the southwest ramp tower would have been an isolated feature at this corner of the church.

The only buildings at ground level in this area which might be of Justinianic construction are the Baptistry and the Horologion.³⁰ This Baptistry is traditionally ascribed to Justinian.³¹ It could perhaps be ascertained that the Horologion was the foundation of Justinian in 536 only if it were demonstrated that the ground-level structure usually identified with it is bonded into the narthex wall, for its "characteristic" masonry of brick and greenstone is found also in the northwest corner of the Room Over the Vestibule.³² In reality, the dating of the Horologion is not crucial to the issue, since the west wall of the vestibule is not integral with it. The east wall of the Horologion is aligned roughly with the partition between the inner and outer narthex of St. Sophia, and its eastern door is set back about three meters behind the present west wall of the vestibule. There is no structural difficulty in dating the vestibule later than the Horologion. In the Byzantine period there must have been a bay opening beneath the stucco cornice on the center of the west side and giving access to the Horologion. If the area at the southwest corner of St. Sophia was at first open to the sky, and entrance to the ramp or the inner narthex were made from outside, obviously neither the stucco cornices nor the ornamental mosaics of the vestibule can be Justinianic.

We date the vestibule and its upper storeys to the same building campaign as the Room Over the Ramp, with the corollary that the work is unlikely to be later than the sixth century. The vestibule is, like the Room Over the Ramp,

²⁹ Mathews, *Early Churches*, 91–93, 129; and Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, esp. 34, 40 ff., 87 ff., and pl. 1, facing p. 32. Mathews argues that the primary use of the galleries was to house catechumens, who needed to enter their places from outside the church, and who had to make their exit after the first part of the liturgy without disturbing the faithful. In her review of *Early Churches* (see *BZ*, 67 [1974], 408–13), Strube discusses the problems and doubts whether the galleries were ever conceived in terms of one single function. Apart from the indecisiveness of the written sources, she points out that the procedures of St. Sophia are a special case, and that on special Festivals there must have been more variety to the congregation than at other services. If women were present in the galleries and wished to take communion, was provision made in the gallery, or did they go downstairs? If so, where did they go afterward? Strube thinks it possible that both women and catechumens were housed in the galleries in the sixth century; by the ninth century the latter group was insignificant. This discussion is relevant to the use of the southwest ramp tower in its original form, but it is a possibility that after its conversion it was closed to public use.

³⁰ A. M. Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul*, *IstForsch*, XII (Berlin, 1941), and Dirimtekin, "Le local du Patriarcat à Sainte Sophie" (note 9 *supra*), give the archeological evidence. Sinan's minaret obscures some of the evidence. The *Survey of Van Nice* (note 1 *supra*) is more accurate and less certain than predecessors in this area (see pl. 13, location S 40, W 50). Mathews, *Early Churches*, 93, discusses this area.

³¹ The textual tradition is not the most reliable; see Διήγησις περὶ τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, I (Leipzig, 1901), 82, lines 2–12, 87, lines 5–6; and F. Dirimtekin, "Ayasofya Baptisteri," *TürkArkDerg*, 12,2 (1963–65), 54–87.

³² The date is from Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883–85), I, 216, which refers to the Horologion of the Milion. Mango, *Brazen House*, 75 note 13, documents the use of the Milion to refer loosely to the area around it.

vaulted with groins (fig. 9). Its division into three unequal bays does, at first sight, seem irregular, but it bears a relation to the space which it covers. The width of the central bay correlates with the width of the entrance into the Horologion, which is evidence in favor of the earlier dating of the Horologion. Another feature which seems to predate the vestibule is the deep semi-circular archway sheltering the door into the inner narthex and the window above it. To the right of this door a low molded opening leads into a closet, which now has bench seats hacked into its brickwork, as if adapted for use as a porter's lodge. This corner space is a shaft which continues vertically upward through the corner of the Room Over the Vestibule, and was adapted for an important function there.³³ The shaft existed not so much as a planned element of the architecture of the church but as a space which resulted at the southwest corner between the south wall of the inner narthex and the ramp tower (the similar space at the northwest corner is now filled with masonry). When he examined the stucco cornices, Hawkins saw evidence in the northwest corner of the vestibule that on this side it was built up on a constructional shelf of bricks; he could not investigate this point on the east wall, where we expect the indications to differ.³⁴ This suggests that the cornice was planned with the building of this wall of the vestibule.

The height of the vault of the vestibule was determined, if we are correct, by the decision to lay the marble paving slabs of the Room Over the Vestibule at about the same level as the floor of the west gallery. The position of the entrance doorway of the vestibule was determined by the decision to align this, and the south wall of the Room Over the Vestibule, with the south wall of the ramp tower and the Room Over the Ramp.³⁵ The Room Over the Vestibule was made the largest of the suite, and from it entrance was made into the church. The opening to accommodate the monumental marble doorway at the south end of the west gallery would have been punched through during this building program (a layer of greenstone had to be cut through) (fig. 27). Immediately inside this Room, to the east, is a recess (fig. 11); it represents the vertical extension of the present closet space beside the narthex door below. This recess was adapted to form a square chapel, with niches in its entrance archway, by hacking into the depth of the brick wall of the church

³³ The ground-floor space was identified by Antoniades as the metatorium of the "Beautiful Door"; see *Ἐκφράσις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας* (note 14 *supra*), I, 151–52. No examination has been made of the higher levels of the masonry of this "chimney" in the vestibule, in particular at the points where the archway over the narthex door meets the northeast corner of the vestibule. If, for example, it were discovered that the archway was in fact constructed as a bridge between rooms above the Horologion and the ramp tower, then perhaps an additional phase in the history of the conversion of this area from open space to enclosed vestibule would need consideration.

³⁴ E. J. W. Hawkins, "Plaster and Stucco Cornices in Hagia Sophia, Istanbul," *Actes du XII^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines*, III (Belgrade, 1964), 131–35. The cornice predates the lunette mosaic.

³⁵ The present bronze doors had to be enlarged to fit the opening. Their original decoration suggests a date before the Justinianic St. Sophia, and they could have belonged to an earlier phase of the church; cf. E. H. Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1940), esp. 55–60. For the date of the enlargement and addition of new bronze ornaments, and the engraving of the inscriptions on the bronze plates inlaid with silver by Theophilos in 838/39, with the addition of the name of Michael III in 840/41, see, most recently, C. Mango, "When Was Michael III Born?", *DOP*, 21 (1967), 253–58.

to enlarge the space to about twice its previous size. A window in its apse, now blocked, looked out eastward directly into the south gallery of St. Sophia, over the final stairs of the ramp. This recess was still recognizable as an oratory in 1849.³⁶ Oratories in the galleries of St. Sophia figure in several texts.³⁷ To the right of the recess was the entrance to the Alcove, which possibly had the function of a diaconicon.

The ceiling of the Room Over the Vestibule is now divided longitudinally into three bays (shown incorrectly in previous literature) (fig. v). Only the north bay appears to belong to the original construction. The south window, now blocked up with Turkish rubble, is also an alteration, belonging with the two southern vault bays (fig. 26). The evidence is that when the Room Over the Vestibule was constructed, its window system was similar to that of the Room Over the Ramp. It too had *antae*; in the brickwork rising from the *anta* in the southwest corner of the Room Over the Vestibule are hints of the springing of an arch, now truncated. The natural reconstruction of the original south window is therefore with three lights between arches whose columns would rest on a low zone of masonry. This reconstruction of the original window is supported by the existence on the exterior of this Room of a molded projection, though at a slightly lower level than that of the Room Over the Ramp (fig. 2). The alteration to this window dates to the Middle Byzantine period (see *infra*, pp. 212–13). As for the original vaulting, most likely the method of the present north bay was applied to the whole Room. This vault is seen on its eastern side to be not a simple barrel vault but two arches of different widths with a concave fill between them (fig. 27). The bay is therefore tripartite, and for clarity we denote each member, starting from the north wall, as A, B, and C. Our measurements suggest the original division of the ceiling into four repeats of this vaulting: the pattern A B C B C B C B A would bring the vaulting up to the face of the *antae*. A final point to be made about the appearance of the Rooms is that the marble door frames, as, for example, in the south end of the west wall of the Room Over the Vestibule and in the entrance to the gallery, were presumably made at the time of the conversion.

DATE OF ROOMS

The building of the southwest vestibule and the suite of rooms above it was a major alteration to this corner of St. Sophia. It probably caused the change in function of the Augustaion from that of an agora in the time of Justinian

³⁶ Mango, *Materials*, 139.

³⁷ Mathews, *Early Churches*, 129 (and references), documents the existence of εὐκτήρια in the galleries of St. Sophia as well as in other churches in the capital, but his account needs correction: Patriarch Nikephoros faced exile, not death, in 815; the adduced passage of Πάτρις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, III, in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Preger, II (Leipzig, 1907), 280 (chap. 208), does not refer to oratories at St. George at Chalcedon. The key sentence (lines 13–16) tells us that Patriarch Sergios, whose correct dates are 610–38, also founded all the oratories of St. Sophia which are in the galleries and gave them the specified donations. The text confirms the existence of these oratories, but its historical accuracy is debatable.

to a courtyard of St. Sophia by the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitos.³⁸ The material evidence of the structure of the rooms suggests that this major conversion took place not long after the completion of St. Sophia and probably in the sixth century, but it does not provide a decisive solution to the problem of their date and function. The most probable answer is given by a consideration of the written sources for the history of the Great Church, and, finally, by the nature of the mosaic decoration itself. The documentary evidence can now be outlined.

The unambiguous evidence of a number of primary sources is that the area between St. Sophia and the Augustaion was occupied by the Palace of the Patriarch of the Great Church.³⁹ This palace, like the Great Palace of the Emperors, sprawled out over a considerable area; additions and alterations are recorded from the seventh century, starting with the Thomaites of 607–10, to the thirteenth century. The major apartments of this palace are said to have been not at ground level but in the safety of an upper storey, a practice which seems general for medieval episcopal palaces.⁴⁰ In the accounts of the Russian pilgrims to St. Sophia in the Palaeologan period, the door of the southwest ramp in the vestibule is mentioned as the entrance to the Patriarchal Palace.⁴¹ The second door to the ramp, that in its south side, may be suggested as the side door inside which St. Theodore of Sykeon was induced to bless the childless daughter of a deacon Sergios and her husband when he came down from an audience with Patriarch Kyriakos, sometime between 596 and 602.⁴²

In view of the location of the Patriarchate and the function of the ramp as its staircase (according to post-Justinianic texts), we have no hesitation in identifying the gallery-level rooms as one part of this Patriarchate. More specifically, we accept the suggestion, made by Cyril Mango, that from their position directly off the gallery of the church and from the nature of their mosaic decoration the rooms can be identified: the Room Over the Vestibule

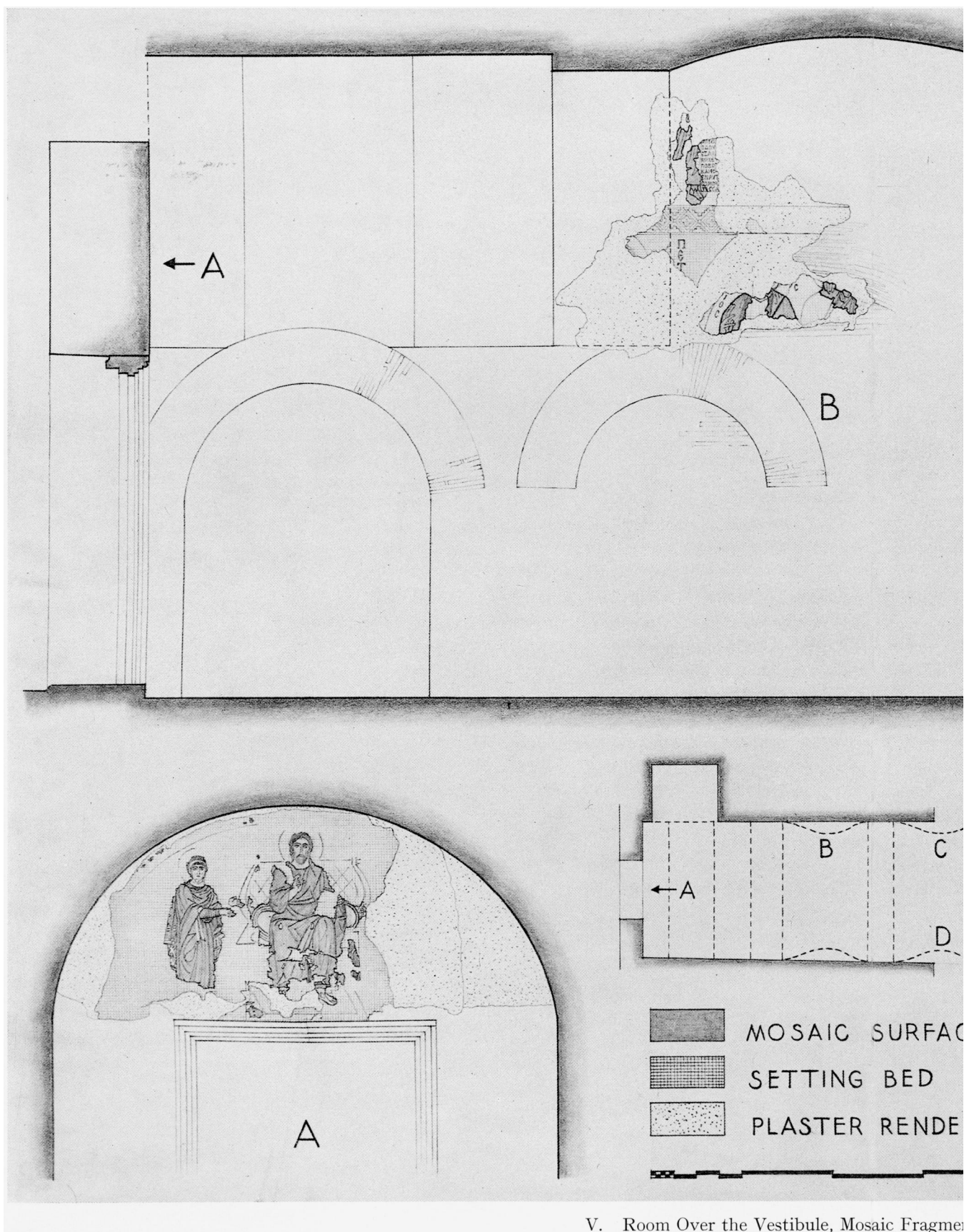
³⁸ Mango, *Brazen House*, 42–47.

³⁹ The best summary remains that of *ibid.*, 52–56. The studies of the literary material made by R. Janin, "Le palais patriarchal de Constantinople byzantine," *REB*, 20 (1962), 131–55, and R. Guiland, "Le Thomaites et le Patriarcat," in *Etudes de Topographie de Constantinople Byzantine* (Berlin, 1969), II, 14–27, are partly superseded by the survey of Pasadaios, 'Ο Πατριαρχικός Οίκος.

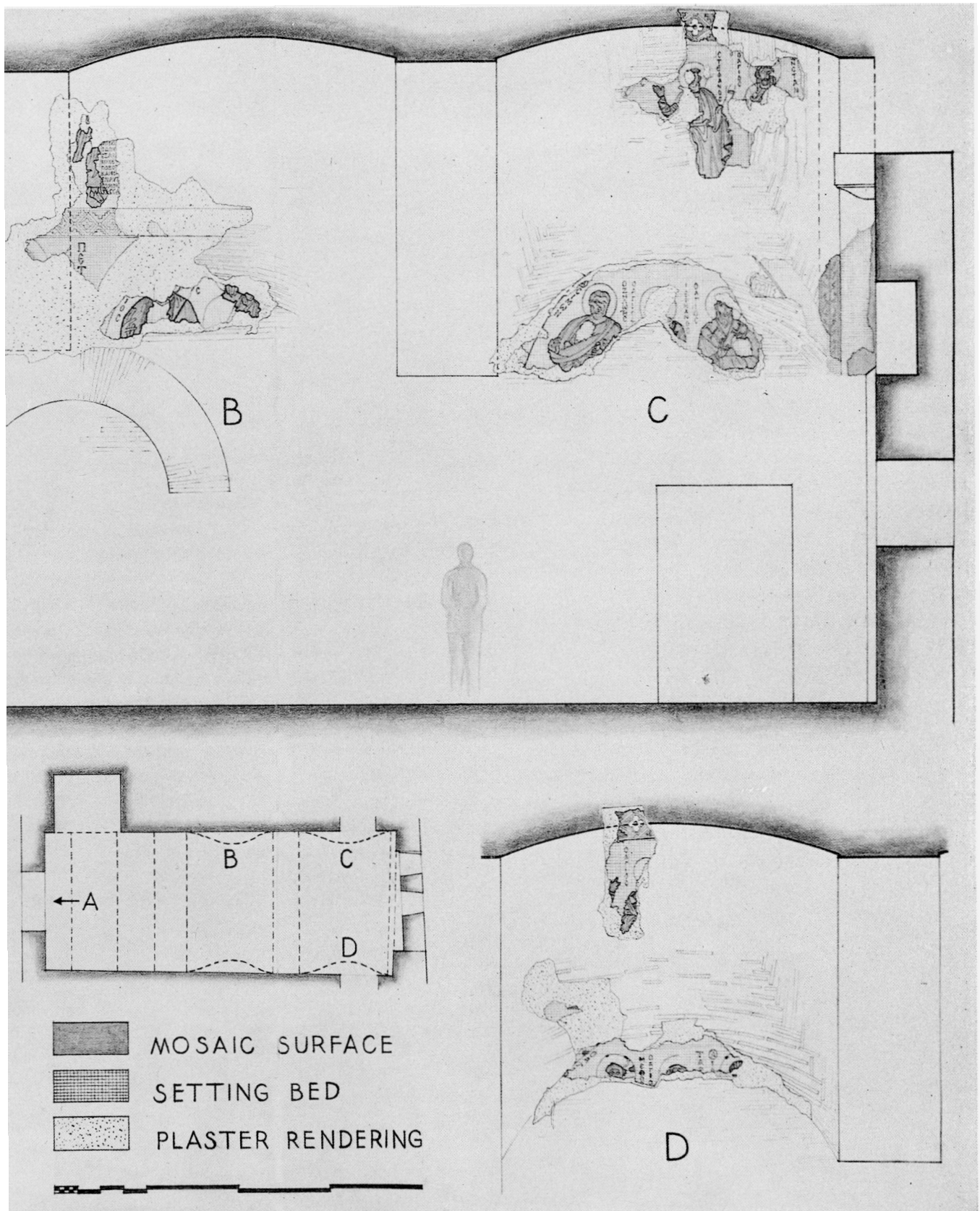
⁴⁰ Before 532 the patriarchal apartments were also at an upper level; cf. Mathews, *Early Churches*, 12–13.

⁴¹ Collated by G. P. Majeska, "St. Sophia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Russian Travelers on the Relics," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 71–87, esp. 73–75. Majeska inclines against identifying the southwest vestibule as the narthex of St. Michael mentioned in Greek and Russian sources.

⁴² A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, SubsHag, LXVIII (Brussels, 1970), 76–77 (chap. 73); Mango, *Brazen House*, 54, had translated ἡ παράθυρος as "window" by analogy with modern Greek usage, but we prefer to construe the passage as referring to the south door and the first run of the ramp. Another opinion is given by Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, 52–54, who uses the edition of Ioannou (1884); but her reference to J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire," *TM*, 2 (1967), 1–316, seems beside the point, for while Gouillard does speak loosely of the windows of the Patriarch John the Grammarian, the Greek word in question is not used in the text on which he is commenting; see "Acta graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii," *AnalBoll*, 18 (1899), 209–59, esp. 249–50. Another possible interpretation of this passage, though less likely in our opinion, is a reference to the small staircase in the Alcove which leads down to the eighth run of the ramp.



V. Room Over the Vestibule, Mosaic Fragments



Room Over the Vestibule, Mosaic Fragments

is the Large *Sekreton*, and the Room Over the Ramp is the Small *Sekreton*.⁴³ Mango likewise suggested that the nucleus of the Patriarchate and the *Sekreta* were built by Patriarch John III Scholasticus (565–77): in a “magnificent manner,” according to the contemporary Syriac historian, John of Ephesus.⁴⁴

There is no reason to doubt the reliability of this sixth-century witness, but the text does raise a difficulty. It reports that the palace was rebuilt after it had been destroyed by fire. Mango presumed this to be the fire during the Nika Riot of 532, and, in this, he is followed by Pasadaios,⁴⁵ but they fail to account for the place where patriarchal business was carried out in the interim period.⁴⁶ Where, in particular, did the Second Council of Constantinople convene for its sessions in May 553? According to a recent commentary, the 168 bishops met on 5 May 553 in the Large *Sekreton*.⁴⁷ If this were the case, then our identification would be ruled out for two reasons: dating and size. The source of information about this Council happens to be not the Greek Acts, which are lost, but two Latin versions, of which the longer specifies the meeting-place.⁴⁸ The delegates sat *in secretario venerabilibus Episcopis huius regiae civitatis*.⁴⁹ It is therefore unwarranted to specify the use on this occasion of the Large *Sekreton*; it is equally clear that the patriarch at this time did not lack official apartments. One solution for the location of these offices would be to accept the hypothesis that the site of the Patriarchate in the period before Justinian was more closely attached to the church of St. Eirene and lay to the north of St. Sophia,⁵⁰ and to suggest its rebuilding on the same site soon after 532. In this case there would be little doubt that the fire mentioned by John of Ephesus was the serious one of December 563 which completely destroyed the Xenon of Sampson (as already rebuilt after

⁴³ The identification made in Mango, *Brazen House*, 53, derives from the *Book of Ceremonies* and the chroniclers, and will be discussed below.

⁴⁴ Mango, *Brazen House*, 52; John of Ephesus, II.26, 27, and 34, trans. R. Payne Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1860), 145. Nikephoros Gregoras commends the high quality of the architecture of the Patriarchate, though its fabric was deteriorating by the fourteenth century; for an account with references, see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), 177–80.

⁴⁵ Mango, *Brazen House*, 52; Pasadaios, ‘Ο Πατριαρχικός Οίκος, chaps. 2 and 3.

⁴⁶ One text states that the church of St. Agathonikos was used as the cathedral by seven patriarchs, but this is probably an unacceptable solution since the text is the unreliable eighth-century Παράστασις σύντομοι χρονικά, in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Preger, I, 20 (chap. 2). This states that the church was restored by Justinian (confirmed by Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, I.4) and was used by seven patriarchs for fifty years. These figures are not strictly compatible with the interim between 532 and the new Patriarchate. The reference to emperors is ambiguous; the verb could mean emperors “were crowned there” or “wore crowns there.” A palace near this church is described as in ruins in the reign of Tiberius (578–82), if the emendation to the text by Lambeck is accepted. According to R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantin: les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), 7–8, the church is at Kainoupolis, the quarter on the hill sloping down toward the Propontis between the Forum Tauri and the Forum of Constantine. Cf. Pasadaios, ‘Ο Πατριαρχικός Οίκος, 43.

⁴⁷ F.-X. Murphy and P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III* (Paris, 1974), 86.

⁴⁸ Published and its authenticity discussed by E. Baluze, *Nova collectio conciliorum* (Paris, 1683), 1475–1581.

⁴⁹ Mansi, IX, 173. The emendation *venerabilis* seems desirable.

⁵⁰ Pasadaios, ‘Ο Πατριαρχικός Οίκος, chap. 1.

⁵¹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 240; Cedrenus, Bonn ed. (1838–39), I, 679; and A. M. Schneider, “Brände in Konstantinopel,” *BZ*, 41 (1941), 382–403, esp. 385.

532 by Justinian), houses in front of it, the atrium (μεσίαιλον) near the Great Church known as the Γαρσονοστάσιον, the two monasteries near St. Eirene, and the atrium (μεσίαιλον) of St. Eirene and part of its narthex.⁵¹ The main objection to this hypothesis is the silence in these sources about patriarchal buildings, which could be explained if they were indeed very limited in extent or, alternatively, simply omitted. Perhaps it is simpler to suppose the Patriarchate was elsewhere. In either case, the large fire of 563, shortly before the election of John III Scholasticus, was the most likely justification for the aggrandizement of the Patriarchate.

Financial support for an architectural addition to St. Sophia from the Emperor to the Patriarch seems likely, and the adornment of St. Sophia by Justin II (565–78), recorded by Theophanes, may refer to the building of the new Patriarchate.⁵² This text gives Justin's motive as piety, and if by this is meant filial piety, or the need for Justin to legitimize his succession, by means of the maintenance of Justinian's foundations, then a date early in his reign is indicated.⁵³ A relatively early time in the period of office of John III Scholasticus could be entertained on different grounds. According to Payne Smith, the patriarchal court used by John Scholasticus during the persecution of Monophysite bishops was described by John of Ephesus as the *Sekreton*.⁵⁴ This persecution began about three years before the Patriarch's death on 31 August 577, and so the Palace was in use at least by 574. In summary, the archeological evidence of a substantial alteration at the southwest corner of St. Sophia at some period in the sixth century may be correlated with documentary records of the erection of the Patriarchal Palace between 565 and 577.

MOSAICS OF ROOM OVER RAMP

The mosaics of this Room will now be described, and then we shall reach a conclusion on their dating and on the identification of the Small *Sekreton*. Mosaics occurred above the level of the marble cornice, which no doubt originally skirted the four walls of the Room. Above the cornice lay the ornamental border which framed the four tympana and their central windows, and served to separate the mosaics of the vault from those in the tympana.

Each of the four groins of the vault was designed as a unit (figs. 11 and 16) in which two rinceaux, originating from a cusp in the corner of the Room,

⁵² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 241–42, trans. Mango, *Art*, 124. Some scholars since Heisenberg have connected this statement with a passage of Corippus and have postulated the addition by Justin II of a festival cycle of mosaics to the decoration of St. Sophia. This suggestion is decisively rejected in a new edition of the poem by A. Cameron, in Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti minoris* (London, 1976). The controversial passage is IV.264–325; see commentary, pp. 206–7; the phrase *internis oculis* (line 292) indicates that the poet is not referring to actual representations. Cameron judges the purpose of the passage to be a complement to Justin's decree on the creed of 566/67 which proclaimed his Chalcedonian orthodoxy: his edict ordered the Creed of Constantinople to be recited in all churches.

⁵³ *Pius* is one of the most common words in Corippus' poem, and the range of its meanings is discussed by Cameron, e.g., pp. 125, 130, 177–78.

⁵⁴ *Ecclesiastical History* (note 44 *supra*), 36, and footnote n.

coil their way upward and branch out to fill the two faces of the groin. The vault has two axes of symmetry, but it is treated as if it had four. The same design is repeated eight times, but it had to be reduced in size on the east-west vault. The rinceaux did not meet at the apex of the vault but encircled a large central medallion. Its outer rim is now discernible only in one fragment near the top of the southeast groin (fig. 16). Perhaps more was visible at the time of the Fossati restoration, to judge from their watercolor of (presumably) the southwest groin.⁵⁵

In the soffit of the vault that frames the south window is a band of ornament about 40 cm. wide, which has the function of filling the elongated space at this end of the Room.

The windows separate the tympana into two triangular areas, each of which contained a large medallion. Though only the south tympanum is now in a reasonably complete form (fig. 12), it can confidently be deduced that this was the regular scheme for each tympanum. The fragment of mosaic on the right side of the north tympanum shows that there was an unbroken transition from medallion to vault mosaic, and this may be taken as proof that the mosaics of the tympana and the vault were all executed in a single campaign of work (fig. 13). The distinctive decorative border running along the angles between the walls and the vault can be picked out at a few other points, but in general it has fallen off. In the north and south tympana parts of the mosaic medallions are still in position; their original existence on the east and west tympana is indicated by circular "ghosts" on the masonry (fig. 17).

The border (fig. 15) which framed all the major areas of mosaic was about 18 cm. wide, and had a ground of dark blue glass tesserae, outlined at each side by a single row of black glass. It contained a set of alternating diamond and rosette motifs.⁵⁶ The diamonds are made of light green glass with a smaller central diamond core of white stone; at the sides are two rows of gold tesserae with a square gold attachment at the center of each. The simplified rosettes consist of four petals in Proconnesian grey marble around a circle of white stone, which usually has a central spot of red glass or pink marble. The rosette is outlined in white stone tesserae.

The band in the soffit of the arch around the south tympanum (fig. 15) contained a vertical series of lotus-shaped plants out of which grow pairs of flowers. The motif is probably to be regarded as a variation of the winged palmette found elsewhere in St. Sophia.⁵⁷ Except for the lowest, which is lighter in color (only that in the southwest corner survives), each motif is in dark green glass, with its internal rib structure in gold outlined by black or dark blue.

Between the ornamental border and the background of the vault mosaics is a single trim of Proconnesian grey marble. The same stone, in a single row,

⁵⁵ Mango, *Materials*, pl. 48 (Fossati Album, p. 38).

⁵⁶ Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 33, illustrate the variations on these basic forms to be found in the sixth-century decoration of St. Sophia and in later phases.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 7, 34.

follows the contours of all the decorative forms in this Room, so that a contrast in color defines the forms, yet blends with the background. The background material is white limestone, not gold. This is not immediately apparent because in the course of time the tesserae have deepened irregularly in color.

The dominant color of the *acanthus rinceaux* is green. The scrolls rise from green foliate cusps in the four corners of the Room in two stems which develop into three whorls. The first element of each stem, surviving most completely in the southwest groin, is a trumpet-like sheath out of which the three scrolls spring. This sheath, or cornucopia, is gold, shaded with brown and green along the right side. It is outlined in black glass at the top and along the right side, and in blue glass along the left. The clusters of leaves which now develop upward are alternately green or gold. The green clusters are highlighted with white limestone and shaded with black glass, ribbed with blue and dark green glass, and their inner faces, when turned over, are in reds. The gold clusters are highlighted with silver outlined in black glass, and shaded in brown and green; when their leaves are turned over, these are also in red. The final cluster in each of the three scrolls becomes more blue than green by the greater use of blue and blue-green glass. At the center of each of the scrolls is a flower or a leaf. In the lowest scroll is a flower with four petals, each divided by a black line into a green and a red half. The next scroll has a sprig of pointed green leaves outlined in black and highlighted with Proconnesian grey marble. The third scroll has a trefoil blossom, also green and red like the quatrefoil.

The south tympanum (fig. 14) still contains its two medallions, about one meter in diameter. The background of each triangular field is in the same discolored white limestone as the vault. The medallions contain large gold crosses with widely flared tips to their arms, which terminate in pairs of tear-drop serifs. The medallions are colored so that the center of the cross is set off against a bright light which turns progressively darker. The medallion encloses five or six eccentric zones, with the center of each shifting upward so that the innermost radiates from the center of the cross at 11 cm. above the center of the medallion. The central zone is yellow-green glass; the other zones progress through several tones of blue. The rim is formed of two rows of red glass.

In his preliminary report, Underwood remarked on the fact that the mosaic area within the red rim belongs to an alteration to the decoration, for it is encompassed by a circular suture.⁵⁸ The bare surfaces of the brickwork in the other tympana have visible tool marks where the original contents of the medallions were also hacked out. Another indication of a remodeling of the original decoration is the area of disturbance below the surviving medallions of the south tympanum. It is clear that the letters of an inscription have been taken out. These letters were removed in two different ways; some were cut out in patches, others were chipped out letter by letter. Afterward, the area formerly occupied by the inscription was reset in the same color as the rest of the ground. Where the tesserae were replaced one by one and the trim was not

⁵⁸ Underwood, "Notes," 292-93.

removed it is possible to make out a few of the original letters. In the name below the left medallion (fig. 21) two tesserae of one letter were left in place, and these show that black glass had been used for the inscriptions. Examination of this area, and also that below the right medallion (fig. 20), reveals the nature of the inscriptions. They consisted of a small cross followed by two words, obviously the names of saints. The last three letters of the name of the saint on the left were: *iota*, *omicron*, and *sigma*. According to Underwood, the previous letter was either *kappa* or *chi*. To judge from their size, the medallions would have originally held bust representations of the saints named in the inscriptions below them.

The fact of two periods of mosaic work in the Room Over the Ramp is the key to an understanding of this area of St. Sophia. For clarity, we shall define the work in two phases. *Phase one* consisted of eight medallions in pairs on the walls, surmounted by a ninth medallion at the apex of the vault set in the midst of luxuriant acanthus rinceaux. The purpose of the medallions was to enclose figurative representations. *Phase two* was an adjustment to this program, and is characterized by the substitution of crosses for figures in the medallions.

The mosaics of *phase one* were attributed by Underwood to the reign of Justin II,⁵⁹ and by Mango and Hawkins to the sponsorship of Patriarch John III Scholasticus during this same reign.⁶⁰ In support of the sixth-century date, Mango and Hawkins noted that the ornamental mosaics of *phase one* fell into a pattern which could be characterized as the combination of more traditional "Hellenistic" forms, like the acanthus rinceau, with more predominant "Near Eastern" motifs, like the diamond, rosette, and winged palmette. This pattern may be a distinctive development in sixth-century art. As for *phase two*, Mango recognized in this work the activity of the iconoclastic Patriarch Nicetas in St. Sophia in 768/69.⁶¹ This substitution of crosses for figures is quite certainly to be dated to Iconoclasm, and this supplies us with a terminus ante quem for *phase one*.

Phase One

Since we concluded on architectural grounds that the Room Over the Ramp was part of the Patriarchal Palace and was built between 565 and 577, the question is whether the iconography and style of the mosaics of *phase one*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 293. He supposed that our *phase one* mosaics confirmed the deductions of Heisenberg from literary sources; but see *supra*, note 52, for a rebuttal of Heisenberg's use of Corippus. Kitzinger was reluctant to accept a precise dating, and instead saw the mosaics as "probably from the latter half of the sixth or the seventh century"; cf. "Byzantine Art" (note 4 *supra*), esp. 11, 43. Wright, "The Shape of the Seventh Century" (note 23 *supra*), 9-28, esp. 25, dates our *phase one* to the reign of Justinian II. His statement that the images in medallions are made a separate and prominent feature at a lower height, as at S. Maria Antiqua, is not acceptable as fact. The bases of the medallions are at a level of about six meters from the floor.

⁶⁰ Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 33-35 and notes 85-86. They compare our *phase one* ornament with the borders of the Samson mosaic at Mopsuestia, of the apse mosaic of the Koimesis church at Nicaea, and of the apse mosaic at Kiti. The closest parallel is with Nicaea, which they attribute to the sixth or seventh century. The most recent investigation of this church does not reconsider the evidence for the date of its foundation; see U. Peschlow, "Neue Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Ausstattung der Koimesiskirche in Iznik," *IstMitt.*, 22 (1972), 145-87.

⁶¹ Implicitly in *Brazen House*, 53, and explicitly in *Materials*, 94.

is acceptable for this period. This is a reasonable attribution on the grounds that the Room appears to have been designed to receive a covering of marble revetment and mosaic from the beginning.

An initial difficulty in ascribing the work to the original campaign of John Scholasticus comes from the eyewitness account of this period by John of Ephesus, whose history discloses the events of a "war of images" between two patriarchs.⁶² Upon his appointment, John Scholasticus took down and erased portraits of Monophysite saints which had been put up by his predecessor Eutychius, then in exile. In 577, when Eutychius was recalled for a second term of office, he proceeded to remove pictures from the Patriarchal Palace, as well as frescoes and icons in churches in towns and villages. In view of these events, it may be arguable that *phase one* cannot belong to the period of John Scholasticus, since there are no signs of alteration to the portraits before the insertion of crosses. This view might seem to receive support from the evidence as reported by Underwood, who stated that the name of the saint in the left medallion of the south tympanum ended with the letters $\kappa\iota\omicron\varsigma$ or $\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (fig. 21). If this saint is to be identified as one of the half-dozen possible whose names end with these letters, then, since all the candidates are relatively minor, he is likely to be a special choice. Such a choice made by John Scholasticus is liable to have been offensive to Eutychius and the Monophysite party. Such an argument against the attribution of this medallion to the original scheme of the Room is probably too ingenious. It could be countered by interpreting the text to mean that Eutychius, under imperial pressure from Tiberius, limited his iconoclasm to portraits of John Scholasticus alone, whom he considered a heretic.⁶³

In any case, the indications of the deleted inscription merit reexamination of the tesserae. The awkward letter survives only in the two black tesserae of its downstroke. Its angle is equally compatible with an *alpha* as with the two suggestions of Underwood. A name well accommodated in the available space is MATΘΑΙΟΣ.⁶⁴ If this identification of the original saint of the left medallion of the south tympanum as the Evangelist Matthew is accepted, we could very tentatively conjecture a whole cycle which could easily be paralleled in the sixth century and which would not have offended Eutychius, namely, in pairs: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Peter and Paul, the Virgin and John the Baptist, while the central medallion could only represent Christ.⁶⁵

⁶² Cf. translation by Payne Smith, *Ecclesiastical History* (note 44 *supra*), esp. 9, 135.

⁶³ For evidence of a pictorial record of orthodox and heretical patriarchs in St. Sophia, see *infra*, notes 107–8.

⁶⁴ The nature of the disturbance below the right medallion suggests that the name of the saint commenced from a point roughly under the vertical arm of the cross. If the same is true under the left medallion (and the ground does seem to be undisturbed in the area just before where the name would in this case begin), an estimate of the length of the name can be made. It would have been spelled "correctly." That the name was spelled with all its vowels in a mosaic in the Patriarchate is perhaps supported by an anecdote told of the Iconoclast Patriarch Nicetas by the twelfth-century author Michael Glykas (Bonn ed. [1836], 527). Nicetas resented his pronunciation of Μαρθᾱῖος being corrected to Μαρθᾱῖος by a member of his suite.

⁶⁵ A convenient catalog of the comparative iconographic material has been drawn up by D. G. Shepherd, "An Icon of the Virgin. A Sixth-Century Tapestry Panel from Egypt," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 56 (1969), 90–120.

Since the size of the medallions on the walls suggests a bust format for the representation of the saints, the next question is whether Christ could also have been shown in bust format in the center of a vault in this period. It is this position which is significant, for the representation of Christ in the form of an *imago clipeata* in the sixth century can be easily paralleled, as, for example, in the north inner aisle mosaics of St. Demetrios at Thessaloniki in a variety of types.⁶⁶ In the groin vault above the sanctuary of S. Vitale at Ravenna Christ appears in the central medallion in the form of a lamb, but this does not require the restoration of a lamb at the apex of the Room Over the Ramp, nor any speculation about iconographic developments, since the use of a lamb in Archbishop Maximian's anti-Arian scheme is only one component of a unified Orthodox sanctuary decoration in which the divinity is shown in three forms—in the apse, the summit of the vault, and the summit of the entrance arch. There seems, therefore, to be no serious objection to the representation of Christ in bust form in the mosaics of *phase one*. One implication of such a scheme is that even the vault of the chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede in Rome (817–24), which may be formally descended from Justinianic precedents such as S. Vitale or the Archiepiscopal Chapel in Ravenna, may derive its central portrayal of Christ as a bust from a Byzantine precedent.⁶⁷

After Iconoclasm, a bust of Christ was portrayed in mosaic in the east vault of the central bay of the south gallery of St. Sophia, which Mango attributed to the late ninth or early tenth century. In the discussion of this Pantokrator bust, Mango interprets a sermon of Emperor Leo VI to mean that the type was an innovation of the ninth century, for Leo includes an explanation for the spectator why the artist omitted the lower half of Christ. Based on this interpretation, the S. Zeno chapel, the church of Zautzas (*ca.* 890), and the south gallery would be the earliest examples of a bust of Christ in a vault. Mango derived the new type from the pre-iconoclastic iconography of the seated Christ in Majesty.⁶⁸ The evidence of the Room Over the Ramp indicates that,

⁶⁶ For illustrations, see R. S. Cormack, "The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki. A Re-examination in the Light of the Drawings of W. S. George," *BSA*, 64 (1969), 17–52. The dating to the late fifth century proposed in this paper needs review in the light of recent research, in particular the attribution by M. Vickers of the mosaics of the Rotunda and the construction of St. Demetrios to the mid-fifth century; see, for example, M. Vickers, "Sirmium or Thessaloniki? A Critical Examination of the St. Demetrius Legend," *BZ*, 67 (1974), 337–50. W. E. Kleinbauer, "Some Observations on the Dating of S. Demetrios in Thessaloniki," *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), 36–44, has attributed the north inner aisle mosaics to the third quarter of the fifth century, but his arguments lack cogency. In a study under preparation, R. Cormack gives a full description of the newly found comparative mosaics in the amphitheater at Durrës in Albania, which are close in date to the north inner aisle mosaics; it is argued that the latter mosaics are not part of the original decoration of the Basilica, and that the two Albanian panels are datable after 522.

⁶⁷ For illustrations, see W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome* (London, 1967), pls. 127–82. The mosaics of San Zeno cover architectural members of similar shapes to the tympana in the Room Over the Ramp. For the relation to Byzantium, cf. B. Brenk, "Zum Bildprogramm der Zenokapelle in Rom," *AERq.* 45–47 (1972–74), 213–21; and on the use of a lamb or bust of Christ, see P. J. Nordhagen, "Un Problema di carattere iconografico e tecnico a S. Prassede," in *Roma e l'Età Carolingia* (Rome, 1976), 159–66.

⁶⁸ Mango, *Materials*, 29–35; for a translation of the relevant sections of the sermon, see *idem*, *Art*, 203. The ninth-century dating for the mosaic has since been confirmed on grounds of style by

contrary to this suggested development, Christ was represented in bust form in pre-iconoclastic vaults; while Leo VI may have been inaugurating one of the first busts of Christ in a Middle Byzantine dome, the type is no more than another of those revivals of pre-iconoclastic schemes which are typical of the early Macedonian period. It remains possible that a specific type of the Pantokrator only evolved in domes after Iconoclasm. Grierson recently proposed only to use the term under certain conditions,⁶⁹ e.g., if Christ is represented in bust form, if one hand (the left) clasps the book as Christ leans forward to look down into the church, and if the free hand (the right) is to the side in the sling of the garment (the hand must not be in front of the body to qualify). Such a formal definition seems too rigid, and it would exclude not only the Sinai icon of Christ but also the S. Zeno bust.⁷⁰ Even if the form became standardized in Middle Byzantine churches, the theology of the image is not post-iconoclastic.⁷¹

Whether or not a bust of Christ in the Room Over the Ramp could be called a Pantokrator seems partly a question of semantics, but the artistic situation before Iconoclasm would seem to allow the possibility of considerable variety in the representation of Christ. The remote possibility ought to be mentioned that our medallion might be relevant to the search for a model for the coin of Justinian II with an image of Christ as *Rex Regnantium*. The title is applied to Christ in the Cherubicon Hymn, which was added to the liturgy of Constantinople by John Scholasticus in 573–74; an interest in an icon of this appellation might be considered under his patronage.⁷²

the discovery from under plaster of a part of the ornamental mosaics of the eastern bay; the "umbrella" motif is directly comparable to a similar form in *phase three* of the mosaics around the Alexander portrait, to be dated between ca. 895 and 913; see Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 36. A derivation of the type of the Christ Pantokrator from the portrayal of the visions of Prophets is proposed by M. Restle, *Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit* (Athens, 1964), esp. 118 ff.

⁶⁹ P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, III (Washington, D.C., 1973), esp. 164–68.

⁷⁰ See K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons*, I (Princeton, 1976), esp. 13–15, for a publication of the Christ icon with brief comments on its iconography. Weitzmann mentions, but indecisively, the hypothesis that this icon is a copy of the pre-iconoclastic icon of Christ on the Chalke Gate. If this is accepted, the date in the first half of the sixth century proposed by Weitzmann poses new difficulties, for Mango (*Brazen House*, esp. 108 ff.) dates the icon not earlier than the late sixth century and perhaps into the seventh. The hypothetical relation between the Sinai icon and the Chalke image was proposed by M. Chatzidakis, "An Encaustic Icon of Christ at Sinai," *ArtB*, 49 (1967), 197–208, but without taking into account the study of Mango.

⁷¹ For New Testament references, see J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959), esp. 51. The concept, with its implications for artistic and imperial theory, is stated in Corippus, II.248: *ille est omnipotens, hic omnipotentis imago*; see Corippus, ed. Cameron (note 52 *supra*).

⁷² Cf. H.-J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1964), 69–70; Cedrenus, Bonn ed., 684–85; and Breckenridge, *op. cit.*, esp. 51 ff. Grierson, *op. cit.*, 164 ff., rejects the identification made by Breckenridge for the model of his Christ-type A as the apse of the pre-iconoclastic Chrysotriklinos. Instead, Grierson says that the Book is held in such a way that its model must be of a standing Christ, not a seated figure. His argument would presumably also exclude a vault model (cf. p. 148 for his discussion about the position of the Book). It is a principle of Grierson's approach that changes in coin types represent influences from newly executed icons, and so it is justified to look for such influential models. Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, decided in favor of the Chalke icon as the model for Christ-type A on the coins of Justinian II, as well as for the Sinai icon, and also rejected Breckenridge's suggestion (pp. 98–100) that the model for Christ-type B was the Camuliana icon. Chatzidakis

The iconography of *phase one* does not exclude a date during the third quarter of the sixth century, nor does it offer any very precise hints. The style ought to give more decisive information, even allowing for the scarcity of dated survivals.⁷³ The analogy with the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock (691–92), suggested by Kitzinger, is valid with respect to certain forms, such as fruits and flowers, the spikiness of the leaves, and the modeling techniques, but all these similarities are of a general nature. Stern follows Kitzinger's suggestion that these analogies are proof of a Constantinopolitan provenance for the mosaicists, but he nonetheless finds the work at Jerusalem stereotyped in comparison, and is prepared to accept a gap of a century between the monuments, an unpromising interval when deciding the place of training of the later workshop.

The characteristic features of the rinceaux of the Room Over the Ramp are their vigorous and luxuriant growth and the subtlety of their coloring. The closest parallel is to be found in Constantinople itself, in the acanthus border of the Great Palace mosaics.⁷⁴ This border is also a positive analogy for the rinceaux of the stucco cornices of the southwest vestibule, if allowance is made for the change in medium (fig. 9). Both the Great Palace border and the two cornices (14 m. long) develop horizontally and enclose a rich variety of forms. The analogy with the Great Palace floor does not tempt us to date our *phase one* mosaics and the stucco cornices as late as the reign of Justinian II, despite recent support for this view.⁷⁵ Even the one study to take full account of the historical circumstances and published archeological material, which decided on the late sixth century, probably in the reign of Tiberius II (578–82),⁷⁶ would now seem to put the floor too late, although the dating would be appropriate for our comparison. A new basis for dating the Great Palace mosaics is offered by the findings of Hayes, who examined the pottery fragments in the building fills under the floor mosaics and checked their find records in the excavation notebooks.⁷⁷ His conclusion that the sherds are of late fifth- and early sixth-century types, with a probable terminal date of

reckoned that by the reign of Justinian II this particular *Acheiropoietos* image had lost its earlier fame, but he thought it may have been an influence on a representation of Christ on the Cross of Justin II, for the image came to Constantinople (to St. Sophia?) in 574. The Sinai icon may be very close in date to our *phase one* mosaics.

⁷³ For the problems, see Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art" (note 4 *supra*); and for some proposed solutions on the basis of a too rigid use of stylistic criticism, see Wright, "The Shape of the Seventh Century" (note 23 *supra*), 9–28. See also Stern, "Notes sur les mosaïques" (note 4 *supra*), 201–32.

⁷⁴ *The Great Palace, Second Report*, ed. Talbot Rice (note 25 *supra*), pls. 48–50.

⁷⁵ P. J. Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors," *BZ*, 56 (1963), 53–68. This attribution has convinced Wright (*op. cit.*, 24–25), who refers also to a consideration of this date not used by us: see E. A. Defouloy (M.A. thesis, Berkeley, Calif., 1966).

⁷⁶ Cf. C. Mango and I. Lavin, reviewing the *Second Report*, ed. Talbot Rice, in *ArtB*, 42 (1960), 67–73.

⁷⁷ J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London, 1972), esp. 418. Still unresolved is the date and relation to the Great Palace floor of the hunting floor at Apamea, modern Qal'at-el-Mudiq in Syria. J. Balty, *La Grande mosaïque de chasse du Triclinos* (Brussels, 1969), refers the inscription of 539 to a restoration of the room it decorates and uses it as a terminus ante quem. Kitzinger, "Author's Postscripts," in *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (note 4 *supra*), 390, records his misgivings against a dating in the late fourth century. Kitzinger, in a paper read in 1963, had accepted 539 as the date of this floor; see *ibid.*, 69.

about 520–40, points to a time for the laying of the Great Palace floor in the first half of the sixth century. This is perhaps as reasonable a comparative date as their stylistic relation permits. Another work of the period, the silver cross in the Vatican attributed to Justin II, has on one face rinceaux in repoussé work.⁷⁸ The scrolls on the horizontal arms spring out of the familiar trumpet-like sheath, but in the case of this work, which may be very close in date to our *phase one*, a stringent stylistic comparison is excluded by the differences in scale.

Though such sixth-century parallels need to be treated with caution, their indications seem to vindicate the dating of *phase one* to the period of the construction of the Room Over the Ramp.⁷⁹ These mosaics belong to the “magnificent decoration” of the new Patriarchal Palace of John III Scholasticus, erected between 565 and 577. The scheme of saints in medallions is also appropriate to this period, in which the religious dependence of Justin II and Sophia on the intermediary of icons is documented in the description by Corippus of their prayers on the morning of the coronation in 565.⁸⁰

Phase Two

The original mosaics of the Room Over the Ramp remained intact until Iconoclasm. The only report of iconoclastic destruction of pictures in the Great Church is of the activities of Patriarch Nicetas in 768/69.⁸¹ The event is described in three chronicles, in slightly different terms.⁸² Nicetas is recorded in this year to have restored certain structures of St. Sophia which had been damaged by the passage of time; presumably the earthquake of 740, which devastated St. Eirene, had left its mark on St. Sophia.⁸³ In the “reception

⁷⁸ Illustrated in W. F. Volbach and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der Christliche Osten* (Frankfurt–Berlin, 1968), 69; see also C. Belting-Ihm, “Das Justinuskreuz in der Schatzkammer der Peterskirche zu Rom,” *JbZMusMainz*, 12 (1965), 142–66; and E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern, 1973), esp. 54. We accept an attribution to Constantinople in the reign of Justin II.

⁷⁹ The dating of the vault mosaics of the southwest vestibule cannot yet be resolved, though they cannot be earlier than our *phase one* and may be part of the work of John Scholasticus. An attempt was made to observe them from a ladder, but still from some distance away and at an acute angle. The surfaces are concealed with Fossati overpaint, and there are substantial areas of loss. On the vertical wall are rayed crosses in medallions, as in the Alcove; parallels from Kartmin (probably ca. 512), and later are noted by E. J. W. Hawkins and M. C. Mundell, “The Mosaics of the Monastery of Mār Samuel, Mār Simeon, and Mār Gabriel near Kartmin,” *DOP*, 27 (1973), 279–96. The possibility should be mentioned that the vestibule mosaics might belong to a redecoration during the period of Patriarch Nicetas or at the time of the decoration of the bronze doors by Theophilos, or even later.

⁸⁰ Corippus, ed. Cameron, II.1–83, and Commentary, esp. pp. 149–55. Cameron notes that the concept of the emperor as the *servus Christi* is already developed in the reign of Justin II, as in this section of Corippus and elsewhere; the place of Justinian II’s coinage tends to be exaggerated. For an interpretation of the distinctive stage of art in this reign, see also *idem*, “Corippus’s Poem on Justin II: A Terminus of Antique Art?”, *AnnPisa*, ser. 3, 1 (1975), 129–65.

⁸¹ No traces of iconoclastic activity were found in the apse semidome, despite the ninth-century verses around it; see Mango and Hawkins, “Apse Mosaics,” 125, 147–48.

⁸² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, 443; Nikephoros, *Historia syntomos (Breviarium)*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 76, trans. Mango, *Art*, 153; Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II, 16, derives from Theophanes.

⁸³ The extensive restoration of St. Eirene would seem to date from the reign of Constantine V, to judge from the monogram on the plaque lying below columns of the north aisle; see T. Ulbert, “Untersuchungen zu den byzantinischen Reliefplatten des 6 bis 8 Jahrhunderts,” *IstMitt*, 19–20

rooms which are there," according to Nikephoros, or, in other words, "in the Patriarchate," according to Theophanes, Nicetas removed all the figurative pictures. The primary texts describe his act in a slightly differing way, though they seem compatible and precise. Nikephoros says that in the *Sekreton*, both in the small building and in the large one, he scraped off the representations of Christ and the saints made of golden mosaic and, literally, "wax-molded wood." Theophanes says that Nicetas took out the icons of the Small *Sekreton* made of mosaic; and he took down from the Large *Sekreton* the icons made of painted wood and smeared the faces of the rest of the icons (and he did likewise in the Abramiaion).⁸⁴ Combining this information, the reasonable interpretation is that the Small *Sekreton* was decorated with mosaics of Christ and the saints, but that the Large *Sekreton* was less preciously adorned, having a figurative decoration probably consisting of encaustic icons and frescoes.

This prominent act of Iconoclasm in the Patriarchate indicates a date of 768/69 for the *phase two* non-figurative mosaics of the Room Over the Ramp. Scarcely less certain is the conclusion that the Small *Sekreton* with its mosaic decoration of Christ and the saints is none other than the Room Over the Ramp. Since its scheme was offensive to the Iconoclasts, the interpretation that all nine medallions, including the central image of Christ, previously contained figurative representations is vindicated.

The inserted plain gold crosses with large teardrop serifs, which have survived in the south tympanum (fig. 14) and which no doubt appeared in the other tympana (the large central medallion may have received a more complicated design), may easily be paralleled, as in the apse of St. Eirene in the reign of Constantine V (740–75) or in the sanctuary mosaics of St. Sophia in Thessaloniki, erected and decorated with a non-figurative decoration by Constantine VI and Eirene (780–97).

The historical context of this act of Iconoclasm in the Patriarchate was one of the most violent persecutions of the period: the martyrdom of Stephen the Younger and Peter the Stylite, and the murder of the previous Patriarch, Constantine II. In 768 several important monasteries in the capital were either secularized or destroyed; the secular clergy hardly put up a resistance.⁸⁵ These acts of violence and the official proscription of images made at the

(1969–70), 339–57. R. J. Mainstone, "The Reconstruction of the Tympana of St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 23–24 (1969–70), 355–68, esp. 366–67, decided against the possibility that the tympana were rebuilt after this earthquake of 740.

⁸⁴ Mango, *Materials*, 94, interprets the procedure of Nicetas in the Large *Sekreton* as taking down the icons in paint (ἐξ ὕλογραφίας) from the vault (τῆς τροπικῆς), and smearing the faces of the other icons; this interpretation follows the passage of Theophanes. Nikephoros is more precise in referring to the icons in the Large *Sekreton* as κηροχύτου ὕλης. It does not seem legitimate to conclude from these two parallel passages that ὕλογραφίαι must in other cases mean encaustic; this is the deduction of S. Vryonis, Jr., "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)," *DOP*, 11 (1957), 263–77, esp. 268 note 30. However, the suggestion of Vryonis that the encaustic medium for panels was abandoned during Iconoclasm conforms with the findings of Weitzmann in the Sinai Collection (*The Icons* [note 70 *supra*], esp. 8–9). We would like to suggest the possibility that in the Large *Sekreton* encaustic panels were taken down from the apse (τῆς τροπικῆς) of the oratory, and that frescoes in the Room Over the Vestibule were whitewashed.

⁸⁵ Cf. C. Mango, "Historical Introduction," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 1–6.

Council of 754 would hardly encourage the new Patriarch Nicetas (766–80) to tolerate the continued existence of figurative icons in the Patriarchate. He must, of course, have supported iconoclastic thinking, but his motivation to overt action may have been the need to ensure his position.⁸⁶ Another development of this time was the “prohibition” of prayers to the Virgin or saints, proclaimed in the first year of office of Nicetas.⁸⁷

The pictorial decoration of *phase one* of the Room Over the Ramp initiated a period of religious art which was stimulated by the personal piety of Justin II and Sophia, as evinced most aptly by Corippus in his account of their prayers in front of icons on the morning of the coronation in 565. The Room Over the Ramp was reserved from the beginning for special mosaic treatment. Its decoration must have been planned by John III Scholasticus at the time of his campaign to use all means to convert the Monophysites to Orthodoxy. The *phase two* substitution of crosses for figures terminates this period in the history of religious art, but reflects an identical concept of the role of art in the war against heresy.

MOSAICS OF ROOM OVER VESTIBULE

The Room Over the Vestibule has lost all traces of its original decoration. Its present mosaics, which survive only in a few fragmentary areas, are the product of a single campaign (fig. v). A description of their architectural setting was published by Underwood,⁸⁸ but needs a brief comment. The two south bays have rebuilt vaults. While these give the same effect of a barrel vault as in the original north bay, they are slightly domed along their ridge, and the bricks are laid in the manner of groin vaults with the groins flattened out. Where these vaults meet the walls a concave lunette is formed on each side of the bay, and the mosaicists took account of these four lunettes in planning the cycle.

The south window was remodeled at the same time as the vaults, but the structural *antae* of the earlier opening were left in position (fig. 26). The new window was apparently modeled on the type found in the west gallery, but the details are now obscured by the Turkish fill of rubble. Probably it consisted of a screen of two orders of superimposed mullions, the spaces in between being filled by glazed grilles and marble balustrades. The two mullions of the upper zone are visible (the right one is rough and cracked), and in the left window a fragment of an oak grille was found with mortices for horizontal and vertical struts. The new window was not aligned with the faces of the *antae*, but was set back, and the side windows are not of the same size and shape. No continuous horizontal element between the two zones can at present be observed, but perhaps tie beams were used. From the lower zones the marble

⁸⁶ On the motivations of iconoclastic acts in the army, see W. E. Kaegi, “The Byzantine Armies and Iconoclasm,” *Byzantinoslavica*, 27 (1966), 48–70.

⁸⁷ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 439.

⁸⁸ Underwood, “Preliminary Report.”

plaques are preserved as the frames of the rectangular Turkish windows, and a part of the capital of the right mullion can be seen in the fill. The plaques match those in the Room Over the Ramp (both sets, for example, have a similar decoration of a cross in relief); presumably those here were taken from the original south opening, set aside, and reused. The capital in the fill, about 64 cm. in width, below an abacus of 75 cm., appears to be of a fifth-century Corinthian type. It, too, must be a reused element, though because it differs from the capital in the Room Over the Ramp it is difficult to say where it was first used. It must be said that the remodeling of the south window lacks finesse.

All the vaults received mosaic decoration, but none of it remains in the north bay, where only the traces of the spud work of the first layer of plaster confirm the previous existence of mosaic work here also. The scheme of the other two vault bays can be recognized; on each side of a border running along the axis of the Room two superimposed registers of figures were set out—full-length standing figures above, and bust figures below. The eastern and western sides of the vaults are therefore decorated in two symmetrical halves. On the north tympanum, over the door which is the entrance from the Room into the west gallery of St. Sophia, is a semicircular lunette panel. The composition here was the “Deesis,” with the Virgin and John the Baptist on either side of an enthroned Christ. The mosaics are described below in hierarchical order of their iconography, southward from the door, to conform with the preliminary account of Underwood, but we shall not use his lettering for the various patches of mosaic.

NORTH TYMPANUM (figs. 27–37)

The panel above the door was semicircular, and about two-thirds of the mosaic surface or painted setting-bed remains. Only the first layer of rendering remains in the third at the right and in a smaller triangle at the extreme left. Those tesserae which have been scraped off were mainly in the areas of gold. Despite these losses, it was possible during conservation to reconstruct the mosaic field from the traces of the painting of the setting-bed (figs. 29 and 31). It was normal practice in Constantinople for mosaicists to paint this third layer of plaster with a fully developed design in various colors.⁸⁹ What is apparently unusual in this Room, but which is found in all the fragments, is the mixture of short lengths of hay or straw in the setting-bed as well as in other layers. A vertical line can be traced in the plaster between the figures, which indicates that each of the three figures in the panel was set separately.

In the center, Christ sits enthroned on a lyre-shaped throne with the left thigh supporting a closed Gospel Book, or Book of Life, clasped in the left hand. His right hand is held vertically in a gesture of blessing, rather than speech. The suppliant Virgin stands to the spectator's left, while to the right the third figure of the group, of whom only the tips of the fingers remain beside

⁸⁹ *Idem*, *The Kariye Djami* (note 3 *supra*), I, 172–83.

the red cushion against which Christ sits, may be presumed to have been John the Baptist. The panel was enclosed by a semicircular border containing a liturgical inscription. There was no cornice between the panel and the marble lintel of the door below it.

Background (fig. 30)

Dimensions

Greatest width of panel	5.53 m.
Height of panel at center	2.29

The setting-bed for the gold ground was painted in yellow-ochre, the less usual choice of color. In the apse of St. Sophia yellow-ochre was used in the setting-bed of the ground, but only immediately surrounding the Virgin; the greater area of under-painting was in red. Yellow-ochre was chosen for the setting-bed of the gold ground of the narthex panel, and in both phase one and phase two of the north tympanum of St. Sophia.⁹⁰

A horizontal strip along the bottom of the panel, some 20 cm. high, had a setting-bed prepared for gold tesserae but painted in red. We found that this strip represented a later Byzantine repair.

The imprints in the setting-bed show that the tesserae were laid horizontally, but there is no means of discovering whether there was an admixture of silver tesserae in the gold ground. There were no inscriptions in the ground identifying the figures, an omission shared with the apse and narthex panels of St. Sophia.⁹¹

The semicircular border was gold with a lower outline of two rows of red glass. It contained a long inscription in black glass letters, of which the only legible word lies above the head of the Virgin (OYPANIOC). At one point on the right the plaster layer continues from the border onto the vault before it breaks off.

Christ (fig. 30)

Dimensions:

Height from tip of left foot to top of head	1.80 m.
Height of head, including beard	0.32
Horizontal diameter of nimbus, including rim	0.44
Width of wrist of right hand	0.09
Height from base of thumb to tip of fingers	0.22
Greatest width of throne	1.37
Height of front edge of seat of throne	0.12
Width of Book	0.24
Height of Book	0.30

⁹⁰ Mango and Hawkins, "Apse Mosaics," 124-25; E. J. W. Hawkins, "Further Observations on the Narthex Mosaic in St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 153-66, esp. 155; Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 8, 22.

⁹¹ Hawkins, "Further Observations," 164, records that the inscription of Christ in the narthex panel is a later addition, possibly of the eleventh century.

The Nimbus: No tesserae survive, but their imprints and traces of paint establish that the rim was plain and in two rows of green, outside of which a trim of two rows of gold made the transition to the horizontal rows of the gold ground. The field of the nimbus was painted yellow-ochre to receive gold cubes, which had been set in concentric rows. The gold cubes of the arms of the cross within the nimbus were laid in horizontal rows. The arms were bordered on each side by a row of green.

The Head (fig. 32): The present contours of the hair against the ground are rather ragged, but the losses are never more than four rows deep, and at the top the tesserae come to the original limits at two points. Within the head the losses are quite small, principally at the eyes, the tip of the nose, the mouth, and in the beard.

The hair of the head and beard is rendered in three tones of brown glass, the darkest being purple-brown, which is the color used for the two strands which fall forward over Christ's forehead. The beard becomes progressively darker as it falls.

The flesh of the face is treated in white and three tones of pink marble. The tesserae are small and there are no violent contrasts in color. White is used for highlights, notably in a double curve over the eyes, in the ridge of the nose, and at the highest parts of the cheeks. The outline of the face is modeled in olive glass.

The method of building up the flesh of the cheeks is different on each side. On the spectator's left, the white area of highlight below the eye forms the center around which three rows of light pink and darker pink marble are laid in oval curves. Beneath them, three rows of the dark pink cut in diagonally from the outer edge of the face toward the base of the nose. On the spectator's right, the light pink marble tesserae are laid in rows vertically following the curve of the shading of the nose and horizontally following the curve of the lower lid of the eye. Below and to the right, as the rows become progressively shorter, dark pink is used. Through this technique the rows of tesserae of the flesh parallel the contours of the chief features, i.e., the nose, eyes, and cheek bones. In the forehead, also, the rows parallel the upward curves of the eyebrows and sloping lines of the hair to fill the area in ever decreasing triangles toward the center.

The pupils of the eyes are represented by one round, black glass tessera, the irises by a single row of brown glass, surviving only in the left, and the whites are done in white marble with a pink tear duct. The eyelashes are a single row of black glass. The upper eyelids are a single row of dark pink marble, the lower a single row of light brown. The heavy eyebrows, shaped as simple arcs that taper to points at the outer ends, are in three rows, the upper in purple-brown and the lower two in brown. The shadows around the eyes are yellow-green.

The ridge of the nose is a vertical row of white limestone tesserae. Following the line of the ridge, there are on the right a row of the darker pink marble

cubes and then a row of mat brown glass casting this side of the nose into shadow. On the left the row beside the ridge is light pink; then follows a row of clear brown. The rows of brown on each side of the nose sweep out to form the curves of the outer edges of the nostrils, which were indicated by a single black tessera. Between the nose and cheeks the shading is achieved by two rows of yellow-green. The ears are indicated by single curved rows of pink marble. The lips are lost. The contours of the neck are in yellow-green, the flesh in pink with a few whites. The neck is particularly broad and short.

The Hand: His right hand is large and heavy; the index and middle fingers and thumb are raised, and the little and ring fingers bend to cross the end of the thumb. The fingers are outlined in red glass, but the outlines of wrist and thumb are in purple-brown. The flesh tones are in two shades of pink, and the shadows in two tones of yellow-green.

The Book: This must be reconstructed mainly from the setting-bed clues. It was a closed book, with the pages to the left held closed by clasps. The setting-bed colors are yellow-ochre, reddish brown, and green, and, despite the disturbances, it is clear that the cover was decorated with a series of rectangles. This cover must have appeared to be gold decorated with green and red gems. Some tesserae survive on the right and one red cube on the left, which suggest an outer border around the cover made of deep red glass tesserae, in which round white limestone tesserae portrayed pearls.

The Garments: Christ wears the normal two garments, a *chiton* below a *himation*, and both are blue. They are modeled in three tones of dark blue, with folds and outlines in black glass; there are no light blues. Certain tesserae are rather large. The line of loss over the right shoulder would correspond with the path of a *clavus*. A few cubes from it adhere about the wrist of the right hand, which indicate it was a mixture of gold and red glass.

The Feet: His left foot is nearly intact (fig. 34), but only the ankle of the right remains. The thongs of the sandals are in black glass. The toes are outlined in red and shaded in yellow-green. Marble cubes are used for the flesh, in various sizes.

The Throne: The reconstruction (figs. 29 and 31) depends on observation during conservation by Underwood and Hawkins. The type of throne recurs in the narthex panel, but this version has some elaborations and is even more massive. This throne is seen from the right and slightly from above, like that of Christ in the narthex and of the Virgin in the apse, whereas the footstool contradicts this viewpoint: it is seen from the left, from above, and is in reversed perspective. The seat is supported on a pair of square legs; above the front legs was a large knob, visible only at the left (the other knob would have been covered by the garments). The finial at each side of the back is of similar shape. The lyre-shaped frame is ornamented like the legs with pairs of rectangles. The back is surmounted with a rounded cross piece.

The outline of the throne is similar to that of the Book: there are two or three rows of red glass and, in the wider parts, round white limestone tesserae representing pearls are inserted, in two rows or one. This border may be seen at the bottom of the right-hand frame on the outer edge (fig. 33) and at the top and bottom of the left frame on the inner edges.

The two finials have the same red and white outline and internally are set with jewels in a gold ground. At their points there seems to be only one teardrop pearl, rather than a cluster of three as in the narthex throne.

The horizontal rail ends in round knobs. It has a single row of red glass for its outline and is made of gold regularly studded with small rectangular green gems. A fringe rises above the rail, only visible now as small spots of green paint in the setting-bed.

The curved sides are subdivided into three gold panels: on the left, each is decorated with six rectangular cabochon stones alternately in green and red; on the right there are only four cabochons in each panel and they were therefore more elongated.

The stuff of the back, predominantly green, has a diaper pattern created by a network of gold lines two cubes wide. From the top of each diamond shape a round white limestone pearl hangs from a thin gold strand (the narthex throne has a green trefoil leaf). Tesserae adhere in very small numbers in this area. The reconstruction of the upper parts of the throne is assisted by an assumption of symmetry.

The seat is surfaced with gold, and its front edges are set with pairs of rectangular cabochons in panels of gold. It is outlined like the upper frame. The knob on the left has a red and white outline and into its gold surface are inserted two white gems, one semicircular and the other triangular. The end of the seat to the right is subdued in color to indicate shadow. The vertical and horizontal edges are set in gold tesserae laid on their sides to give clear brown, and they also have a single row of white limestone pearls. Below the seat to the right is an area filled with reversed gold cubes to give mat brown; this is either the inside face of the back leg or a panel across the end.⁹² The area is bordered by a double row of gold tesserae. On the right side of the seat are two rectangular cabochons, one in turquoise tesserae and the other indicated in green paint.

The cushion is set entirely in stone tesserae, except for a few rows of red glass in its border. The visible areas of the cushion are divided into vertical bands. The outer bands, rounded at the ends, are white limestone shaded with Proconnesian grey marble. The inner bands are made of stone cubes dipped in vermillion paint—the same device for producing a red cushion as in the narthex panel. Mixed in with these stone cubes are random green and gold

⁹² Mango and Hawkins, "Apse Mosaics," 133, comment on these effects. We have not considered it of value to include color charts for the mosaics published in this report, because no panel contains entirely its original range. We have not been able to check in the Rooms the color of every tessera described in the original notes, and this must result in some lack of precision in our descriptions of some colors and materials, e.g., in the browns and in the presence of olive- or yellow-green, colors which we distinguish although Underwood did not.

cubes, also dipped in vermillion paint. The paint has today deteriorated to a dirty brown.

The inner band is darkened to the right of Christ to indicate shadow. The surface of the footstool is in plain gold with the familiar border. In its upper left part are cabochon stones for ornament.

Byzantine Repair (figs. 34 and 35; cf. figs. 29 and 31): The lower part of the footstool was repaired in the Byzantine period. A horizontal suture runs at the level of the underside of Christ's left foot, clearly visible in the plaster at about 20 cm. above the lintel. This lintel is cracked in the center, necessitating repair work to prevent the masonry of the tympanum from slipping down. In this remedial work the bricks around the door were hacked out and the door was shored up with oak beams around its frame. The workmanship was poor, and there was apparently a shortage of good lengths of wood.

The mosaic which had to be cut out was reset. The setting-bed was prepared for gold tesserae with red paint, not yellow-ochre. The sides of the footstool were again ornamented with precious stones, but not in a matching design. Instead of using white limestone for pearls the repair has round marble tesserae.

The east side of the dome of St. Sophia has a rather crude repair using marble tesserae. This dates to the fourteenth century.

The Virgin (figs. A [color], 36, and 37)

She turns in three-quarter view toward Christ with her hands extended. Her face is nearly frontal. The areas of loss are in the edges of the garments, in the lower parts, and in the head at the left eye, tip of the nose, mouth, and chin.

The Nimbus: The paint of the setting-bed is green for the rim.

The Head: The flesh is modeled in white limestone and three tones of pink marble. The cheekbones are made prominent by ovoid areas of strong pink surrounded by one complete row of lighter pink. The point of the chin is shaded by dark pink; in the neck, shading lines are yellow-green. The face is outlined above the ears in brown and below them in olive, with some brown in the chin.

The pupils of the eyes are black, the irises brown, and the whites limestone. The upper eyelashes are single rows of black and the lower grey. The upper lids are single rows of pink marble, and the right lid is shaded by a row of yellow-green. The eyebrows are in three tones of brown.

The ridge of the nose is treated, like that of Christ, with a ridge row of white limestone. To the spectator's right the shading is by a row of brown and yellow-green; to the left it is by two rows of yellow-green. The nostrils are in brown and black. At the tip of the nose are three vermillion glass tesserae.

The vertical ridge of the upper lip is brown. The left of the upper lip, which survives, has three vermillion glass cubes, shaded by a single row of purple-

brown. The lower lip is lost, but it must have been short and thick, as a single cube of yellow-green for shading occurs far down. The use of vermilion glass in the lips is paralleled by the Virgin in the apse. Christ in the narthex panel has some vermilion glass in his lips. In the north tympanum, John Chrysostom also has vermilion glass here, but Ignatios the Younger has vermilion paint on white marble, while Ignatios Theophoros has pink marble. The mosaicists of the Room Over the Vestibule also used these variant techniques.

The Hands: The flesh is in three tones of pink marble with olive and light olive for shading. Small red glass tesserae are used for outlines.

The Garments: The Virgin wears the *maphorion* over a *stola*, and, as in the case of Christ, both are in dark blue modeled in three tones with black glass folds. The cuff of the *stola* is decorated with a lozenge with some gold tesserae between pairs of gold lines. In the *maphorion*, lozenges set with four small gold cubes at each point form the cruciform *segmenta* in the center of the hood and on each shoulder. The kerchief over the head is white, but brightly lit by a crenellation of turquoise and grey marble. The knotted white kerchief at the waist is executed in white limestone with Proconnesian grey marble. At the knot and two ends are small crosses (or lozenges) formed by four red tesserae. At the base of the Virgin's neck is a short row of red tesserae, possibly belonging to the garments.

The hem of the maphorion has two parallel bands of white limestone, with grey stone for shadows. It has a fringe of white threads knotted together in threes to make tassels. This hem with its fringe hangs behind the Virgin in a cascade of zigzag folds.

St. John the Baptist

Only the barest traces remain, and the identification is, of course, conjectural. Despite Underwood's hesitation,⁹³ the identification would not seriously affect the dating, for the group is documented before and after Iconoclasm.

The Nimbus: One leaf-green tessera of the rim survives.

The Fingers: The tips of three fingers from his right hand are visible at the bottom of the right frame of Christ's throne (fig. 33).

MOAICS IN VAULTS

St. Peter (fig. 38)

Location: In the center of the east spandrel between the north and central bays. Only a fraction can be deciphered. Like all figures in the lower zone this is in bust format.

⁹³ Underwood, "Preliminary Report," 368.

Dimensions:

Height of lower zone of mosaic	1.20 m.
Height of border above	0.34
Height of letters of inscription	0.09 to 0.10

The Background: The setting-bed is painted in yellow-ochre to receive gold, of which five tesserae remain.

The Inscription: In vertical columns using black glass tesserae. The heavy strokes are in two rows, the lighter in one: // ΠΕΤ[ΡΟC].

The Nimbus: Of the upper right quadrant visible in the setting-bed, it is seen that the rim is in two rows, indicated by dark brown paint (red tesserae?). The gold is set in concentric zones, and the rim trimmed by two rows of gold before meeting the background.

The Head: A patch of the right side of the hair remains in the setting-bed, painted in dark brown.

The Staff: To the right of the nimbus are traces of the arms of a small cross of which four red glass cubes survive. It must have been the head of a staff carried over the left shoulder; a convenient comparison is the figure identifiable as St. Peter in the cupola mosaics of St. Sophia in Thessaloniki.

St. Andrew (fig. 39)

Location: In the east lunette of the central bay, he was at the left of a group of three. This figure is in a fragmentary and headless state.

The Inscription: The vertical row on the left curves in with the semicircle of the border. [Ο ΑΓΓ]ΙΟC // [ΑΝΔΡΕΑ]C

The Nimbus: The rim is in two rows, painted in blue-grey on the setting-bed but actually set in turquoise, since a fragment of glass remains.

The Head: Three brown cubes of the beard⁷ survive, and in the neck a fragment of flesh is modeled in pink marble with yellow-green glass shading.

The Hand: The right hand is held vertically, with the bent little finger crossing the thumb. The flesh is in white limestone and tones of pink marble, with shading in yellow-green.

The Garments: The figure wears two garments. The outer garment, a *himation*, is outlined on each side against the gold ground with clear brown metallic tesserae, one row on the left, two on the right. The *himation* was grey and modeled with Proconnesian grey marble cubes and Proconnesian white marble folds. The shadows are in purple-grey granite. The neckline of the *himation* is bordered by two rows of metallic cubes, some clear brown and some mat brown.

The undergarment, a *chiton*, is brilliant in color, made of turquoise glass with dark blue shadows and silver glass highlights. On the left side ran a red *clavus* with black shadows.

The Staff: The staff across his left shoulder is in two rows of red, and presumably it was originally capped with a cross.

Identification: The attribute of a staff identifies the figure as Andrew, the only apostle apart from Peter to carry one; again we may compare the cupola of St. Sophia in Thessaloniki, where he is identifiable from his facial characteristics and hair.

Unidentified Apostle (St. Luke?) (fig. 39)

Location: In the east lunette of the central bay, he is the central figure of the trio.

The Inscription: [Ο ΑΓΙΟΥC //

The Nimbus: Only a segment about 12 cm. long remains, to the left of the beard. The paint in the setting-bed is blue-grey, suggesting that it was turquoise like that of St. Andrew.

The Head: The neck is preserved. Its outline is red, and the flesh is treated in white and pink stones shaded with tones of yellow-green. A height of about 12 cm. of beard remains. It is rendered in white limestone and grey marble with the strands outlined in light turquoise glass. The tufts end in straight points, not curls.

The Garments: He wears two garments, but the *himation* is slung over the *chiton* only on his left side, where it is bunched up into loops. The *himation* is in grey marble with white limestone for highlights and two tones of purple stone for shadows. The outline of the *chiton* on his right shoulder is traceable in the setting-bed in blue-grey paint, and the supposition that it was turquoise is confirmed by a few cubes of that color remaining. A *clavus*, of which the red paint and a red glass splinter are preserved, runs to the edge of the shoulder.

Identification: The figure had a short grey beard. Looking at the hierarchy of saints so far, we have, on the east wall, Peter followed by Andrew. The west wall must therefore have begun with Paul. The next four figures in the sequence must be the Evangelists, two on each side of the Room. Of these, Matthew, John, and Luke generally have grey hair, and Matthew and John have long beards, though this is far from an invariable rule. The possibility of this figure beside Andrew being Luke is, however, especially appropriate in Constantinople, if the placing of their relics in the church of the Holy Apostles is recalled.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ See F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, DOS, IV (Washington, D.C., 1958), esp. 138ff., and for apostolic ideas in the ninth century, 238ff., 267ff.

St. Simon Zelotes (figs. D [color], 41, 42, and 43)

Location: In the east lunette of the south bay, he is at the left of a group of three. There are losses in the right arm, the *chiton*, and around the eyes and mouth. To the left of the figure, in the herringbone tooling of the second layer of plaster, is a nail, which affixed the bed to the vault.

Dimensions:

Height of figure to top of nimbus	1.05 m.
Greatest surviving width	0.82
Height of head from tip of beard to top of head	0.33
Diameter of nimbus	0.43
Distance from right edge of this nimbus to left of next figure's	0.30
Height of letters of inscription	about 0.06
Width of border	0.35

The Background: A semicircular border encloses the group of bust figures. The horizontal lower border is traceable at waist level. The gold ground was laid in horizontal rows over a yellow-ochre bed. The enframing border is outlined in two rows of red glass, within which is the same repeated diamond pattern as for all the divisions of the vaults. The setting-bed paint of the outline of the lower border, as well as five red cubes, survives below the right figure in this lunette. Since pegs for revetment are only 18 cm. below, this border cannot have been more than the upper half of the pattern. A cornice, if one ever existed, must have been very narrow.

The Inscription: Visible in black paint on the setting-bed: there were no accents or breathings, but a ligature was used for *tau eta*. The abbreviation of an *alpha* within a circle was used. (O ΑΓΙΟC) CΙΜΩΝ // Ο ΖΗΛΩΤΗC

The Nimbus: The rim is devoid of tesserae, but the terre-verte paint on the setting-bed no doubt indicates that the two rows were green. The gold was set concentrically.

The Head: The hair is portrayed with four tones of brown, and is delineated in a series of upward, slightly curving lines, similar to the drawing of the hair of St. Ignatios Theophoros in the north tympanum of St. Sophia. The same materials are used in the beard, but with a preponderance of darker tesserae, and also for the hair of the eyebrows.

The transition from the hairline to the flesh areas is by a single row of olive glass.

The flesh areas use two shades of cream and pink marble, brightened by single rows of white limestone. These white strokes are found as a curved line across the brow, a single curve over each eyebrow, a single line under the right eye, and as vertical lines on each side of the nose to define the cheeks.

The pupils of the eyes are a single piece of black glass, the irises are brown, and the whites are in Proconnesian white marble. The upper eyelashes are black, the upper lids olive, and the lower lids dark brown.

The left side of the mouth is damaged, but those tesserae of the upper and lower lips which survive are of white limestone dipped into vermillion paint. The upper lip has small cubes, shadowed at the parting of the lips by black glass. The shorter lower lip is entirely preserved and was only three large cubes.

The flesh of the short, massive neck is treated in the same materials as the face.

The Hands: The gesture of his right hand is similar to that of Christ. The fingers are outlined by small red glass cubes, and the flesh is modeled in pink marble with yellow-green shading. What remains of the left hand is treated in the same materials.

The Scroll: The tightly-rolled scroll in the left hand is of white limestone with Proconnesian grey marble and yellow-green shading. It is outlined in yellow.

The Garments: The figure wears two garments, and weight and panache are given to the *himation* by the heavy treatment of its folds. Its material, like those of the apostles in the previous lunette, is understood to be a heavy white cloth represented by white limestone cubes. Shading is with Proconnesian grey marble, and shadow lines are in purple-grey granite.

The *chiton*, like that of St. Andrew and his neighbor, is turquoise with a red *clavus*. Pale turquoise tesserae survive to indicate the method of modeling lighter areas; silver cubes form the highlights, and the folds, neckline, and shadows are in dark blue. Of the *clavus*, only the red paint in the setting-bed remains.

Identification: Since St. Peter was in the spandrel between the first two bays, followed by three figures in the lunette of the central bay, and then another spandrel figure, now lost, this was the sixth and last apostle on the east side of the Room. St. Simon Zelotes is portrayed as a middle-aged man with a short dark beard. His figure is forceful, with the heavy drapery echoing the curve of the lunette. This may be a conscious formal means of bringing the series of apostles to a full stop. However, he carries the apostolic tradition to his companions in the lunette by turning his large staring eyes toward the central figure of the trio.

The Patriarch Germanos (fig. 41)

Location: In the east lunette of the south bay. He is the central figure, almost totally eroded, but with a fragment of mosaic of his left shoulder still in position.

Dimensions:

Diameter of nimbus	0.43 m.
Width of <i>omophorion</i>	0.18

The Inscription: Ο ΑΓΙΟC // ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟC

The Nimbus: Paint in the setting-bed indicates a rim of two rows of leaf-green, with gold set concentrically.

The Garments: The fragments can be reconstructed, by comparison with his companion to the right, as belonging to three vestments. The same garments are worn by the Church Fathers of the north tympanum of St. Sophia,⁹⁵ namely, a tunic (*sticharion*) with vertical *clavi*, a chasuble (*phelonion*), and an *omophorion* decorated with crosses. A Gospel Book is held in the left arm, which is covered by the *phelonion*.

The Omophorion: The base color is white limestone, with Proconnesian grey marble set in rows to make the transition to the purple-grey stone of the border and the contour of the shoulder. The ends of two arms of the cross survive; they consist of four rows of tesserae, the two to the left of the vertical and of the upper side of the horizontal being of black glass. The other two are of red glass. One of the red cubes of the horizontal arm is not glass, but stone painted red.

The Phelonion: Modeled in the same stones: white limestone, Proconnesian grey marble, and purple-grey.

The Gospel Book: A few cubes of red glass and white limestone are visible against the *phelonion*.

Identification: The inscription, confirmed by the garments, identifies Germanos during his office as patriarch (715–30).⁹⁶

The Patriarch Nikephoros (figs. B [color], 41, 44, and 45)

Location: In the east lunette of the south bay, he is placed on the right. There are losses at the two elbows and at the top of the head.

The Inscription: Ο ΑΓΙΟC //

The Nimbus: The rim is in two rows of leaf-green glass. The gold is set concentrically.

The Head: The Patriarch is shown as an elderly man with white hair and beard; the beard is moderately long and pointed.

The flesh areas are modeled in white limestone and cream marble, with tones of pink marble; it is the same technique as in the face of St. Simon. The curving line to shade the lower lid of the right eye, modeled like Simon's but of more natural proportions, is a feature found also in the face of Christ. He looks toward the center of the lunette.

The beard is colored with Proconnesian grey marble, lit with single rows of white limestone and shaded in two tones of grey stone. The division between

⁹⁵ Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 8–9.

⁹⁶ Cf. O. Meinardus, "The Beardless Patriarch: St. Germanos," *Μακεδονικά*, 13 (1973), 178–86.

the drooping mustaches and beard is a line of purple-brown glass. The same color divides the lips.

The lips are made of single rows of white limestone colored with vermilion paint. One tessera which was examined retained the vermilion paint on its sides and back, beneath the surface of the plaster. It can therefore be stated that the cubes were dipped in paint before setting.

The Hand: The right hand is held in a blessing position. It is outlined around the fingers with red glass and at the palm and wrist with purple-brown. The shading on the palm is dark brown.

The Gospel Book: The front cover of the Book has a central decoration of a large circular emerald, bordered in red; four more emeralds, square in shape and bordered with red, are placed in each corner. The cover itself is gold, enclosed by a margin of a double row of white limestone cubes representing pearls set in a red band. This Gospel Book closely resembled that held by Christ.

The front edges of the covers, to the spectator's left, are fastened by two clasps, distinguishable as dark blue-grey paint on the setting-bed.

The Garments: The *sticharion*, *phelonion*, and *omophorion* are modeled in stone tesserae, as in the case of Germanos. The crosses of the *omophorion* alternate the two red and two black rows of cubes in each arm, with a black X across the intersection. The cuffs of the *phelonion* lend color to the figure by a series of folds using gold, leaf-green, and red glass tesserae. The figure is cut across the waist by the horizontal line of red cubes marking the upper outline of the border.

Identification: As we shall show, this figure is one of a group of four patriarchs concerned with Iconoclasm who face each other in pairs in the lunettes of the south bay. He is to the hierarchically later side of Germanos, and therefore should be the Patriarch in office when the second period of Iconoclasm began. The identification with Nikephoros, in office 806–15, is confirmed by his similarity with portraits in the ninth-century Chludov Psalter (e.g., folios 23^v and 51^v).⁹⁷ There is clearly some attempt at a portrait likeness, and it may be supposed that his iconophile disciples encouraged such images. Pictures might be the source of the descriptions of certain saints, including Nikephoros, compiled by "Ulpius the Roman" between ca. 850 and 950.⁹⁸ This text describes him as similar in many respects to St. Cyril of Alexandria, but with specified differences: he was of less than average height and fairly healthy in appearance, had big, bushy eyebrows of an arched shape, a long nose, his lips were not thick, and he had entirely straight hair and beard.

⁹⁷ Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (note 5 *supra*), pls. 143, 152.

⁹⁸ Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 24, 31; see also Mango, *Art*, 214–15. The text is available in M. Chatzidakis, 'Εκ τῶν Ἐλπίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου, in 'Επ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 14 (1938), 393–414. Grierson, *Coin Catalogue* (note 69 *supra*), 143–44, discussing portraits on coins, considers it characteristic of late ninth-century literature to portray people as individuals, not as types.

St. James (fig. 40)

Location: In the west lunette of the south bay, he is the right-hand figure of the group of three. The top of the head and a segment of nimbus remain.

The Inscription: (O AΓΙOC) // ΙΑ[ΚΩΒOC]

The lettering is very indistinct in black paint on the setting-bed; a double dot is placed over the initial *iota* of his name.

The Background: Enough remains of the border to confirm that it framed the group. The gold is laid horizontally.

The Nimbus: The rim is painted in black on the setting-bed but must have been set in leaf-green, since one such cube is found adhering to the paint.

The Head: A small area of hair remains; it is brown in color, and the locks were outlined in curved lines of mat brown.

Technical observation: Below the tessellated setting-bed of the nimbus and head a previous layer of setting-bed was observed, with a rough painting of a head in terre-verte. This layer had never been set with tesserae. A similar phenomenon was found beneath the left figure of this lunette.

An explanation for this unparalleled procedure is that the mosaicists probably found the sharp angle on which the two heads at each side had to be laid was unduly distorting. After drawing the faces on the original setting layer, they then decided to apply another (a fourth) layer of setting-bed in order to round out the angle. The solution was not completely successful, for, from all except one viewpoint, the left head is still distorted.

Identification: This figure is the sixth and last apostle on the west vault. The abbreviation for 'Ο Ἁγίος was used here, as in the case of Simon Zelotes, so that there would have been a space on the right to distinguish between James the son of Zebedee and James the son of Alphaeus.

The Patriarch Tarasios (fig. 40)

Location: In the west lunette of the south bay, he was the central figure. Only the top of the head survives.

The Inscription: Some clear brown tesserae (gold tesserae set on their sides) adhere to the black paint of the setting-bed. [Ο AΓ]ΙΟ[C] // Τ Α Ρ [ΑCΙOC]

The Nimbus: The two rows of the rim were set in green paint.

The Head: The hair is grey, set in alternating rows of white stone and Proconnesian grey marble, the grey cubes being larger in size. The contour of the head and delineation of the locks is in mat brown in lines radiating around the crown of the head. A few yellow-green tesserae survive at the lower left and mark the transition to the forehead.

Technical Observation: There was no additional layer for the setting-bed here; however, at the top of the head and slightly to the right is a piece of drawing in terre-verte, the color used on the original setting of the other two figures. The curve here is not so sharp, and no packing-up of the plaster was required. The use of terre-verte paint here would seem to prove that the whole of the lunette was set in one operation.

Identification: The figure is safely identified as Tarasios, in whose period of office the first period of Iconoclasm ended (784–806).

The Patriarch Methodios (fig. 40)

Location: In the west lunette of the south bay, he is the left-hand figure of the trio. The upper part of his head remains.

The Inscription: To the left, the letters are set vertically, but sloping with the border; they are legible in black paint. To the right, a few letters remain set in clear brown tesserae (gold cubes set on their sides). Ο ΑΓΙΟ [C] // ΜΕΘΟΔ [IOC]

The Nimbus: Some of the gold tesserae remain, set concentrically; the rim is in two rows of leaf-green glass tesserae.

The Head: As in the north tympanum of St. Sophia, Methodios wears a bandage tied round his head, allegedly because of injuries sustained to his jaw during the iconoclastic persecution under the Emperor Theophilos.⁹⁹ The bandage is modeled in concentric zones of one row of white limestone and grey marble in two tones; it is outlined by another row of white limestone. It is uncertain whether the bandage was surmounted by a cross, as it is in the north tympanum of the church. His left ear, lying below the bandage, is indicated with a curl of pink marble.

The face is outlined by a row of yellow-green. The flesh is in tones of pink marble, with a short white line in the center of the forehead below a dark pink indication of the brow.

The pupils of the eyes are a single round piece of black glass, the irises are brown, and the whites are rendered in limestone to the right and pink marble to the left. The upper eyelashes are one row of black glass shaded below by a yellow-green row. The heavy eyebrows are set as a row of dark brown, changing through a lighter brown and yellow-green to the pink marble of the upper lids.

The nose is bordered on the spectator's left by two rows of yellow-green, and on the right by one row of yellow-green and one of a lighter tone of the same hue.

Technical Observation: The setting-bed of the original layer, as mentioned above, is seen at the lower left side of the head. The right eyelashes in terre-verte can be seen beneath the broken edge of the complete mosaic. The layer must underly the entire head.

⁹⁹ Mango, *Materials*, 52–53.

Identification: Methodios was the Patriarch who from 843 to 847 saw the final restoration of Orthodoxy after Iconoclasm, and so forms the appropriate pendant for Nikephoros in the opposite lunette, toward whom he stared with large eyes. This group of three is apparently not linked together by the two side figures turning their eyes into the center. Methodios, presumably the youngest saint in the cycle, forms the point at which the spectator could make direct optical contact with a figure in the hierarchy.

The Prophet Ezekiel (?) (fig. 38)

Location: In the east side of the vault of the central bay in the upper zone; the left leg of a standing figure holding a scroll is preserved.

Dimensions:

Length of foot	0.19 m.
Height from heel to hem of garment	0.10

The Background: Above the horizontal border is a zone set with green tesserae in a mixture of olive and leaf-green. The setting-bed, where visible, is painted blue, as is the setting-bed of the border. Presumably the background of this zone was gold with a green base.

The Foot: The position of the big toe shows this is a left foot. The outlines and thong of the sandal are in clear brown lines, and the toes are drawn in red. The flesh tones are in white limestone and shades of pink. The shadow of the leg below the hem of the garment is in yellow-green. The ankle is modeled in oval rings of tesserae.

The Garment: Fragments of two garments are visible; the undergarment was turquoise, shaded with cobalt blue and lit with silver. These are the same colors found in the *chiton* of the apostles below. A red stripe with a mat brown border and central dividing line must be the end of a *clavus* in the *chiton*.

The overgarment, the *himation*, is in white and grey stones. It is difficult to read its structure because it is composed in this area of a multiplicity of drapery folds in zigzags and triangles.

The Scroll: This is held in the prophet's left hand and hangs vertically. It survives on the left side in most of its length. Its field is white limestone, with an edge of yellow-green, two rows vertically, and one horizontally at the bottom. Where the scroll turns up slightly, its triangular *verso* is rendered in grey stone. The letters of the text are in capitals of black glass about 4 cm. high. Forty-four letters could be read at the time of conservation.

Identification: The text reads: καὶ ἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ πνεῦμα ἑξαΐρον ἦρχετο ἀπὸ βορρᾶ, . . . καὶ φέγγος ἐν αὐτῷ . . . ὥς ὁμοίωμα τεσσάρων ὤμων. These words are excerpted from Ezek. 1:4 and 5. It is likely, but not certain, that Ezekiel himself held the text from his vision. The possibility that Isaiah was portrayed on the opposite face of the vault, and that angels and seraphims were on the vault of the north bay, can be suggested but not substantiated.

Unidentified Saint (fig. 46)

Location: In the upper zone of the east side of the south bay, he is the third figure from the south window. Only a fragment of paint of the nimbus remains in the setting-bed. The lower part of a *sigma* in black paint seems to be the last letter of the saint's name. If so, his name was probably no longer than five letters in all.

St. Stephen the Protomartyr (fig. 46)

Location: In the upper zone of the east side of the south bay, he is the second figure from the south window, and the most completely preserved figure of the upper zone. He is beardless and orant; areas of loss are in the face, the right side, the left forearm, and the lower parts of the legs.

Dimensions:

Diameter of nimbus	0.40 m.
Height of letters of inscription	0.05 to 0.07

Inscription: It begins 8 cm. below the ornamental border, and is legible in the black paint of the setting-bed. [O A Γ I O] C // C T E Φ A N O C

The Nimbus: The rim is in two rows of cubes, probably green glass, since the paint of the setting-bed is green. The field of the nimbus is painted in yellow-ochre, and the imprints of the tesserae are in concentric rows; a few cubes adhere.

The Head: The hair is rendered in tones of brown glass. The flesh consists of white and pink stones shaded with yellow-green glass. The line between the lips was in deep red; the lips themselves are in the deepest shade of pink marble, also used at the point of the chin, the crease in the neck, and in the outer rim of the ear. Since the lips appear pallid, they perhaps originally had a coating of paint, now flaked off.

The Hand: The fingers of his right hand are delineated on the shadow side by red glass. The flesh is rendered in pink marble, with areas of shade in light yellow-green. The tesserae of the left arm are lost, but its raised position is clear on the setting-bed.

The Garments: The two garments are worn in the same manner as on the bust figure of the unidentified apostle. The *himation* is slung over the left shoulder, and then tucked up under the right shoulder and across the waist. The lower part of the figure is covered by the thick, heavy folds of this garment, presumably of wool.

The *chiton* is brightly colored in turquoise. The cuff is red glass, brightened with one row of silver. The outlines and folds are modeled in several tones of blue with silver highlights. From the traces of blue paint in the setting-bed on the right shoulder it is clear that this was free of the *himation*. At the

shoulder, the paint changes to red for a distance of five cubes; this must represent a *clavus*, presumably with a red field.

The *himation* is treated in white limestone and three tones of grey stone. The darkest shadows seem to be of purple-grey granite and slate-grey (Beykoz) stone.

St. Constantine the Great (figs. C [color], 46, and 47)

Location: In the upper zone on the east side of the south bay, he is the first figure from the south window. Much of the head is preserved.

The Inscription: Begins 8 cm. below the central border, as does that of St. Stephen. Ο ΑΓΙΟC // [K] ΩΝCΤΑΝ [ΤΙΝΟC]

The Nimbus: Some glass and paint of the rim survive; it was in two rows of green.

The Head: He is shown as a man of middle age with a short dark beard.

The hair of the beard is rendered in three tones of dark brown. The eyes are damaged, but it can be seen that the lashes are single rows of black glass. The shading of the lids is in brown and yellow-green, and the brows in the darkest tone of brown.

The nose is shadowed by yellow-green and brown, with the nostrils in black. The lips have both vermilion glass cubes and white marble cubes dipped in red paint. The parting of the lips and shadow of the lower lip is done with single rows of black glass.

The flesh is in the usual system for the Room of pink marble with a few lines of highlight in white; these highlights occur arched over each brow and in vertical lines on each side of the nose.

The Crown: The crown has similarities to that worn by the Emperor Alexander in the north gallery of St. Sophia.¹⁰⁰ Only the lowest horizontal zone is preserved here, which consists of a row of dark brown glass into which is set a row of round white limestone representing pearls. The *perpendulia* on each side of the crown are single vertical rows of pearls in a band of dark brown. These terminated in equal-armed crosses of white limestone pearls.

The Garment: The garment at his right shoulder must be the *loros*. Its edges and internal ornament are decorated with double rows of white pearls. Fragments of two diamond-shaped jewels are preserved, worked into the garment. The lower one is blue in a field of gold, the upper one perhaps red. The diamond-shaped ornament is divided by rows of red glass, presumably the basic color of the garment. At the base of the neck is a band of setting-bed painted in black, and, below it, a few gold cubes. These do not seem to belong to the *loros*, but perhaps to a garment below it (*the skaramangion?*)

¹⁰⁰ P. A. Underwood and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul. The Portrait of the Emperor Alexander," *DOP*, 15 (1961), 189–217, esp. 196–98.

Unidentified Bishop (fig. 46)

Location: In the upper zone on the west side of the south bay; this is the second figure from the south window, of which a part of the right shoulder is preserved.

The Nimbus: One cube of green glass from the two rows of the rim adheres.

The Omophorion: The tips of the crosses are preserved, in alternately red and black rows. The ground color is in light stone tesserae outlined in yellow-green glass.

The Phelonion: This is also modeled in light stone tesserae, with green and red folds lit with silver, not with gold as in the patriarchs of the lunettes.

St. Helena (?) (fig. 46)

Location: In the upper zone of the west side of the south bay, this is the figure nearest to the south window. The only remnant is the figure's right hand and cuff. The position of the hand and its distance from the window might suggest a figure in an orant position, like St. Stephen.

The Cuff of the Garment: The border of the cuff consists of one row of white limestone and red glass, a row of round white limestone pearls, and a band of gold, then red, then gold, repeated. The last row turns, presumably to form the outline of the sleeve. Further down is the impression of a red cube; perhaps the sleeve was red lit with gold.

Identification: The richness of the garment worn and the position of the figure as a pendant to Constantine suggests only St. Helena. The two figures are beside the representation of a cross at the summit of the south window.

ORNAMENTAL BORDERS

An ornamental band lay across the crown of the vaults (fig. 46). It would have traversed both south bays, but cannot be assumed to have crossed the north bay, where the scheme of decoration is not preserved. A second lower band divided the two registers of figures (fig. 38), and was of the same width and design as the central band (about 35 cm.). A band of identical design framed the lunettes (fig. 41). Another band lay under the lower register of figures, but a space of only about 18 cm. seems to have been available before the marble revetment began. This would accommodate a border consisting of the upper half of the same design, assuming there was no cornice, or a very narrow one, above the marble. Alternatively, a stucco cornice might be conjectured of the same type as that in the Alcove, which has a height of about 18 cm. The beveled edge of the plaster of the background, which is now visible where the border has fallen away from around the lunettes, suggests that the borders were set as a separate operation. This was characterized as the common

practice by Underwood on the evidence of this Room, the Alexander panel, and the Kariye Camii.¹⁰¹

The best preserved piece lies above the head of St. Stephen. Each side of the border is outlined by three rows of red cubes and two of gold. The red cubes here are of marble dipped in red paint. The stepped pyramids are green bordered by blue with a semicircle at their base, which seems to be red. The diamond shapes lie in a ground of white limestone, bordered by two rows of gold, and with a semicircle of gold at each point. The diamonds are formed of green tesserae, and held a gold quatrefoil with a red center.

SOUTH WINDOW (figs. 48 and 49)

The upper zone of the triple window is separated from the vault mosaics by a border enclosing a counterchange ivy-leaf design. This runs horizontally across the base of the soffit, and turns upward and frames the cappings of the mullions. The design varies very slightly at the base. Between the mosaic surface and the wooden grid is a slate-grey plaster fill; one would expect a fill of this kind to be red. The grid is set in the same plaster as the mosaic and must be coeval. In the southeast corner of the Room the junction between the plaster layers of the window and the vault may be observed. It seems that the under-renderings of the soffit mosaic pass under the ivy-leaf border and are flanged over the under-bed of the vault. This means that the window decoration was carried out after that of the south bay.¹⁰²

The window soffit has a floral decoration on a gold ground, and at the summit there is a cross in a medallion. The ivy-leaf border has repeats of dark blue or blue-green leaves against a white ground. The east soffit, the only one to survive, was set in three sections. The setting-bed of the top and bottom sections was painted in red, and the middle section in yellow-ochre. Both the upper sections were set with gold tesserae. The bottom section carries a vigorous design of shrubs and flowers on a dark green ground with a jagged edge. The shrubs are green and brown with foliage of various greens; the shading is by tones of yellow-green and slate-grey. The small dart and the four petaled flowers are of white marble. The larger round forms resembling lilies used red glass, white and pink marble, and apparently terra-cotta. The latter material was recorded in the north tympanum of St. Sophia, where it can be regarded as a cheaper substitute in places where in the sixth century red glass would have been used.¹⁰³ The design of the "garden" is

¹⁰¹ Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (note 3 *supra*), I, 178. This border design is found elsewhere in St. Sophia, e.g., in the surrounds of the niches in the tympana.

¹⁰² Dirimtekin, "Le local du Patriarcat à Sainte Sophie" (note 9 *supra*), 113-27, had supposed this window to be Justinianic. Our examination was visual, without the cutting of test holes.

¹⁰³ Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," esp. 8. The tesserae in the Alcove and the Room Over the Vestibule, which we have identified as terra-cotta, have not been scientifically examined. According to *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, First Report*, ed. G. Brett, W. J. Macaulay, and R. B. K. Stevenson (Oxford, 1947), this color was achieved in this floor by the use of cubes of limestone with foraminifera, presumably baked before use, which supplied the color described as brick-red.

reminiscent of the garland border in the apse of St. Sophia, but not closely comparable. It is roughly 75 cm. in height.

On the east and west faces of the cappings of the mullions is a row of individual vine leaves, three in the complete set, in dark blue and blue-green. On the north face of the east capping (this face is lost on the west capping) is an enigmatic disk, 27.5 cm. in diameter, which had a white marble field with a circular outline of one row of gold.

The cross medallion at the summit was set within a gold rectangle, from which it is divided by a ring of white marble. The cross is set off by three concentric rings, of light blue at the center, followed by turquoise and dark blue. The cross has plain, slightly flared gold arms (40×25.5 cm.). The arms are shaded on the right sides and undersides with clear brown metallic cubes.

MOSAICS OF ALCOVE (figs. 22-25)

The mosaics are described now, because the Alcove seems to communicate with the Room Over the Vestibule rather than with the Room Over the Ramp. The space is about 1.50 m. square, and is vaulted by groins above three tympana and one arched window on the east side. The mosaic fragments of the vault are in the south and west tympana, around the east window, and in the arches to the north and south. A stucco cornice about 18 cm. high, composed of heavily strawed plaster, runs below the mosaics. Its upper edge shows indications of a bead molding. The cornice was probably laid after the mosaics. On the west and east walls the plaster rendering which goes with this cornice terminates beside the vertical slot at the opening of the archway which seems, as we have already suggested, to have held a partition separating the Alcove from the Room Over the Ramp. This plaster rendering was presumably the final covering of the walls in the zone below the mosaics when they lacked a marble revetment. At the northwest corner of the Alcove the rendering turns onto the north wall. It must have covered the two now visible peg holes, which could be indications that previously there was a marble revetment on the north wall. The plaster fill between the cornice and the mosaic surface is slate-grey, as in the window of the Room Over the Vestibule.

The north and south arches have preserved fragments of a similar vine scroll decoration. In the conch at the north the rinceau is bordered by a band containing a twisting ribbon on a black ground running along the cornice (fig. 22). The edge of the ribbon is one row of white marble tesserae. The red side of the ribbon is modeled in rows of deep red, terra-cotta (apparently), and pink marble, and there are occasional highlights of white marble. The green side is modeled in rows of light blue, light green, and leaf-green, and has white limestone for its highlights.

The vine scroll in this north conch springs from a foliate cusp supported on three knobs (fig. 22). The knobs are in deep red glass outlined in dark brown. The cusp is modeled in light green, leaf-green, yellow-green, and white lime-

stone, with dark brown outlines. The stems of the plant are brown modeled with olive shadows and streaked red glass tesserae. The leaves are modeled in leaf-green and blue-green. The bunches of grapes have streaked red, deep red, terra-cotta (apparently), and pink marble tesserae. The use of such streaked tesserae was also observed in the Room Over the Vestibule, and they are presumably chosen for aesthetic effects.

The scrolls of the conch curl around a small medallion, of which only the lower segment survives. It was blue, and at its base are a few gold tesserae which formed part of a circular shape, with two rows on the left and one on the right. Another gold tessera survives higher in the medallion to the left. These fragments might represent the ends of two arms of a cruciform monogram or of a cross with balls at the tips of its arms. There may have been another medallion on the facing section of the south arch, for the vine scrolls seem on this side to curl in the same fashion. This medallion, like those on the window of the Room Over the Vestibule, have lost the essential clues for interpretation.

The ribbon border encloses the mosaics of the Alcove horizontally. It divides to run vertically up into the four corners of the vault, and then divides again with a slight fluttering to define the groins. At the center of the vault was a circular medallion which has left its outline in the setting-bed; it presumably held a cross.

Each of the three tympana defined by the ribbon was decorated with an acanthus rinceau. Those on the south and west have preserved their central medallions and crosses. It seems that the scheme of each tympanum was identical. Two scrolls spring from a central cusp and enclose a flower. The rinceau continues on each side of the medallion and expands above it.

The ground color of the vine and acanthus rinceaux in the Alcove is white limestone, which unifies them with the vault of the Room Over the Ramp. But the form and colors in the Alcove are simpler. The foliage is modeled in two colors of green, light green and leaf-green, with dark blue or black for shadows, and highlights in white limestone and light blue. The trefoil flowers are outlined in deep red with pink marble at the center; in between are apparently terra-cotta cubes. This treatment connects them with the flower "garden" in the window soffit of the Room Over the Vestibule. No gold tesserae are used in the rinceaux.

From the outset the medallions (77 cm. in diameter) had crosses with plain arms of gold tesserae which are flared at the ends (fig. 25). Four rays of light radiate from the crossing of the arms. Three zones of blue surround the cross, lightest in the center. The rays of light are white marble in the innermost zone and blue in the outer zones. The cross is trimmed in dark red along the right side of the vertical arms and along the upper side of the horizontal arms. The medallion is trimmed with white limestone.

Around the border of the soffit of the east window (filled with rubble) is a band of laurel (fig. 25), of which two sections survive. The leaves of the lower section are in light blue and marble, with red veins; each leaf is outlined with

turquoise and black. The berries are deep red. This section is terminated with a short ribbon binding modeled in terra-cotta, pink marble, and limestone, and outlined with brown. The upper section of the laurel wreath is modeled with green, yellow, and white limestone with light blue and black outlines. The stems are brown.

The decoration of the Alcove may be characterized as economical in materials and coarse in execution.¹⁰⁴

DATING OF MOSAICS OF ROOM OVER VESTIBULE

The Room Over the Vestibule was decorated in its two southern bays with representations in the lower zone of the twelve Apostles and four Patriarchs of Constantinople; the upper zone seems to have the space for about twenty standing figures.¹⁰⁵ The inclusion of St. Methodios in the cycle dates its execution after his death in 847. The scheme might seem to be a typical example of the manner of representing the Heavenly Cosmos through portraits of saints, which has been claimed to be characteristic of the art of the second half of the ninth century.¹⁰⁶ It can be doubted, however, whether this is a well-founded characterization—the evidence for it is meager: literary descriptions of churches, now lost and of unknown size, may not give full details of the decoration. St. Sophia is a special case and the church of the Holy Apostles does not seem to conform. Moreover, the cycle of the Room Over the Vestibule is not strictly a church decoration, so the nature of its program is not a sure guide to its dating. The perennial theme of decorations in the Patriarchal Palace was the representation of Orthodoxy. John III Scholasticus, Eutychios, and Nicetas have already been mentioned as patriarchs who used art to proclaim their theological beliefs. The Russian pilgrim Antony of Novgorod records that around 1200 portraits of all the patriarchs and emperors, accompanied by an indication whether they were orthodox or heretical, were displayed in St. Sophia *na polatah*.¹⁰⁷ While the meaning in this passage is possibly “in the gallery,” Antony elsewhere uses the noun indiscriminately to refer to the gallery or to the Patriarchal Palace. Grabar has speculated that the patriarchs may have maintained a picture gallery of their predecessors in their Palace.¹⁰⁸ In the case of our cycle, its underlying theme is most likely to be the portrayal of the orthodox theology of its sponsor. If anywhere in Byzantine religious art,

¹⁰⁴ Stern, “Notes sur les mosaïques” (note 4 *supra*), 201–32, correctly recognized the inferior quality of this work in comparison with the Room Over the Ramp.

¹⁰⁵ Mango, *Materials*, 44–45.

¹⁰⁶ For example, by S. Der Nersessian, “Le décor des églises du IX^e siècle,” *Actes du VI^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Paris, 1948* (Paris, 1951), II, 315–20.

¹⁰⁷ Mango, *Art*, 237. Mango and Hawkins, “Church Fathers,” 28–29 and notes 58–62, discuss and document the evidence for the display (and suppression) of portraits of patriarchs. The unreliable *Parastaseis* (trans. Mango, *Art*, 16) is also relevant to the discussion: it records that portrait icons of three patriarchs who held office under Constantine the Great, and one of the Virgin and Child, were burned in a fire at the Milion by the Arians, apparently in the reign of Constantius.

¹⁰⁸ Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (note 5 *supra*), 213ff.

a decoration in the Patriarchal Palace ought to exemplify the way in which topical reasoning could be translated into a general frame of reference.

The inclusion of the four patriarchs intimately involved in fighting the iconoclastic heresy must be significant for dating the Room. It is true that the four appear as a separate group in the diptychs of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, which were recited annually from the ninth century onward,¹⁰⁹ but their selection and prominence in the decoration must have some topical significance and can only indicate an active concern with Iconoclasm on the part of the planner of the mosaics. For how long after the death of Methodios was Iconoclasm a live issue in the Patriarchal Palace? In a recent examination of this question, Mango has suggested an almost obsessive concern with Iconoclasm by Photios during his first period in office as patriarch (858–67), at a time when the threat of its renewal must already have passed.¹¹⁰ On the basis of this view, the early 860's are a likely time for the mosaics of the Room Over the Vestibule. The dismissal of Photios in 867 did not, however, banish the issue of Iconoclasm from the Patriarchate. The Fourth Council of Constantinople in 869/70 reveals some concern with Iconoclasm on the part of Ignatios, even if it was not at the top of the agenda as at the Photian Council of 861. In the second part of the eighth session (November 869) the subject was the problem of the recalcitrant iconoclast, Theodore Krithinos, and his partisans. Krithinos, who was a former archbishop of Syracuse, refused to compromise and was condemned, but some of his partisans, Nicetas, Theophilos, and Theophanes, agreed to make a confession of their mistakes in front of the delegates. The session ended with the pronouncement of eighteen anathemas against iconoclasts. When the canons were drawn up on 28 February 870, the third was directed against Iconoclasm. It included a novel formulation that icons are justified since without them a Christian soul would be in danger of being unable to recognize his God.¹¹¹ By 879 the intellectual climate was such that the canons of the Photian Council only repeated the earlier formulations, while for Arethas interest in Iconoclasm was academic.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie" (note 42 *supra*), 1–316, argues (in agreement with V. Grumel) the substantial case that the text was compiled in 843 or 844 and subsequently used annually on the first Sunday in Lent. One major question remains unresolved—why is its earliest mention in the rites of St. Sophia not until the end of the century (i.e., in 899 in the *Kleterologion* of Philotheos)? Recitation of the *Synodikon* is not mentioned in the *Typikon* of St. Sophia in cod. Patmos 266 (datable *ca.* 880?), nor in the early tenth-century revision in cod. Jerusalem, Hag. Taphou 43. Its omission from the latter suggests this is not a decisive text. Baumstark believed that other omissions in the Patmos manuscript indicate that it represented the liturgy before 843. Grumel saw no particular reason for a notice of the *Synodikon* to appear in the *Typikon*, since the hymnology of the day would be unchanged. Our material is relevant to the discussion if our interpretation of an influence of the *Synodikon* on the planning of the cycle is accepted; this would support a relatively early institution in the ninth century of the festival in St. Sophia. For documentation, see also Mango, *Brazen House*, 130–31; Gouillard rejected the suggestion of the institution by Photios in 867.

¹¹⁰ C. Mango, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. Bryer and Herrin (note 85 *supra*), 133–40.

¹¹¹ For an account of the Council and its politics, see D. Stiernon, *Constantinople IV* (Paris, 1967); for the acts, see Mansi, XVI, 397–406.

¹¹² S. B. Kougeas, 'Ο Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ ἐργὸν αὐτοῦ (Athens, 1913), 78; cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Gregory of Syracuse, Ignatios, and Photios," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. Bryer and Herrin, 141–45, esp. 145.

The implication of the program is, therefore, a dating within a fairly short period in the ninth century, not earlier than 847 and not later than the 870's. Such a date would also limit the sponsoring Patriarch to one of two candidates, either Ignatios or Photios. The question might therefore be approached through an investigation of the mentality and artistic patronage of these well documented figures;¹¹³ but for the present we shall consider the issue through the art historical evidence. The dating bracket proposed on the basis of the program is harmonious with the style. Underwood attributed the mosaics to the second half of the ninth century, while Mango and Hawkins have gone on record with the suggestion of the 850's or 860's.¹¹⁴

Comparisons with other ninth-century mosaics help to clarify the stylistic trend of the homogeneous cycle of the Room Over the Ramp. There is little point of contact with the techniques and coloring used by the mosaicists who replaced the sanctuary figures of the church of the Koimesis at Nicaea.¹¹⁵ A comparison with the cupola mosaics of the church of St. Sophia in Thessaloniki, which can be attributed to 885, produces quite positive results.¹¹⁶ Certain workshop methods of modeling used in the Room Over the Vestibule can be recognized in Thessaloniki, but in a more extreme and mannered form. Thus, the pear shapes in the drapery over the knees of Christ and the Virgin or the hanging zigzag folds of the Virgin's maphorion have become more emphatic, more schematic, altogether more dominant elements at Thessaloniki—signs of a relatively later date of execution. The mask-like face and the pattern of the drapery of the standing Virgin at Thessaloniki owes a distinct debt to our Virgin of the Deesis. To devote further attention to the developments in color and line, through which the impressive impact of the later cupola figures is made on the spectator with a different effect from the more intimate groups of the Room Over the Vestibule, is unnecessary for the

¹¹³ Mango, in "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm," has laid the basis for such an approach to these personalities; while he does not treat here the question of the dating of these mosaics, his characterization may be said to support the sponsorship of Photios. However, he does not discuss the second period of office of Ignatios, who might have been more inclined after 867 to emulate the artistic patronage initiated by Photios.

¹¹⁴ Underwood, "Notes," 292; Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 36–37, whose remarks on the epigraphy of the tympana inscriptions are equally apposite for us, but offer little precision in dating. Mosaicists in this period seemed able to choose whether to inscribe *Hagios* before a saint's name or not. It was normal to use it in the Room Over the Vestibule but not in the tympana (a test case is Methodios). Perhaps the decision was made in the tympana on formal grounds, for the omission gave more space in which to enlarge the other letters and so to make them more visible from the ground.

¹¹⁵ The precise dating of the restoration of the Nicaean sanctuary to the ninth century is not yet resolved. A time between 843 and 13 April 848 is proposed through the suggested identification of Naukratios by E. Ć. Lipšić, "Navkratij i Nikejskie Mozaiki," *ZVI*, 8,2 (1964), 241–46. However, P. J. Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII (705–7)," *Acta IRNorv*, 2 (1965), 121–66, esp. 162, on the grounds of style and technique, associates Nicaea with late ninth-century mosaics, like St. John Chrysostom in the north tympanum of St. Sophia; on the other hand, he sees that many elements of the period of John VII are prevalent at Nicaea. It should be noted that one workshop practice of this period is absent from the Room Over the Vestibule, namely the use of a large and irregularly shaped tessera at the tip of the nose; this is found at Nicaea, in St. Sophia at Thessaloniki (in the cupola), and in various faces in St. Sophia at Istanbul.

¹¹⁶ See R. Cormack, *Ninth Century Monumental Painting and Mosaic in Thessaloniki* (Diss. London, 1968); in this study, the replacement of the late eighth-century cross in the semidome of the apse by a Virgin and Child enthroned is dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century. See also J.-M. Speiser, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," *TM*, 5 (1973), 145–80, esp. 160–61.

present purpose of the comparison. The cupola at Thessaloniki is a part of the cathedral church of the city, and was commissioned by archbishop Paul, a personal supporter of Photios appointed in 880. His mosaicists, who must have been trained in Constantinople, had perhaps previously been employed by the Patriarch.

Although the comparison with Thessaloniki might be taken to point to a date not too much before 885, the means to a more precise decision is offered by stylistic parallels in certain mosaics of St. Sophia itself, and in manuscripts produced in the orbit of the Great Church.¹¹⁷ The second half of the ninth century was a period offering fairly permanent employment for artists in Constantinople, and one would expect to find a variety of styles in the works which survive. The most specific comparison with the Room Over the Vestibule is the tympanum mosaics of the naos; in particular, the massive treatment of figures (consider Christ and St. Simon Zelotes), the modeling of some garments in light-colored stone tesserae with folds in dark lines (often the lines are short and terminate in hooks), the fairly loose disposition of tesserae, and the use of greens for shadowing flesh. The way in which such features were treated in the north tympanum mosaics seemed to Mango and Hawkins to belong to the last two decades of the ninth century, being shared to some extent by the narthex panel and the Alexander mosaic of the north gallery. In their estimation, the mosaics of the Room Over the Vestibule belonged to an earlier stage, at a cruder level of achievement, with relatively clumsy figures too heavily outlined, and with too abrupt transitions from light to shade. They therefore proposed a date earlier than or contemporary with the sanctuary vault mosaics of St. Sophia, and saw their interest to lie in the existence of a different "style" coexisting with that of the apse.¹¹⁸

If the mosaics of the Room Over the Vestibule are treated as a part of the total ninth-century scheme of St. Sophia, this assessment of Mango and Hawkins might be modified in the light of our description. Can these mosaics be earlier than the apse of St. Sophia? When Photios inaugurated the present apse mosaics on 29 March 867, he proclaimed the church stripped of decoration.¹¹⁹ Even allowing for the hyperbole permitted on a state occasion, it is

¹¹⁷ S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus: Paris. Gr. 510. A Study of the Connections between Text and Images," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 197–228, esp. 227–28, states the case for connecting the supervision of this manuscript to Photios. As for the three ninth-century "marginal" Psalters (Moscow, State Historical Museum, cod. 129D; Athos, Pantocrator cod. 61; and cod. Paris. gr. 20), the attribution to the Great Church proposed by N. Malickij ("Le psautier byzantin à illustrations marginales du type Chludov est-il de provenance monastique?" *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, 2^{me} recueil, pt. 2 [Paris, 1932], 235–43) and maintained by, among others, Grabar (*L'iconoclasme byzantin* [note 5 *supra*], 196 ff.), remains controversial. Rejecting the interpretations of the liturgical instructions put forward by Malickij and by O. Strunk ("The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *DOP*, 9–10 [1955–56], 177–202), and maintaining the attribution of the group to the Studios Monastery criticized by Malickij, R. Stichel ("Zu Fragen der Publikation byzantinischer illustrierter Psalterhandschriften," *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 12 [1976], 78–85) promises a reexamination of the textual evidence.

¹¹⁸ Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 35–36. In particular, they invited comparison between our St. Nikephoros and St. Ignatios Theophoros in the north tympanum.

¹¹⁹ C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople*, DOS, III (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), esp. 279–96; and Mango and Hawkins, "Apse Mosaics," 142–43.

difficult to account for his words if the Room Over the Vestibule had recently been redecorated with a figurative cycle. If the assumption is made that at the time of the homily the Patriarchal rooms lacked this cycle, then the rhetoric of Photios becomes more credible, and, moreover, it can be presumed that his reference to the visual mysteries of the church being scraped off had a specific source in the documentary reports of the iconoclasm of Nicetas in the Patriarchal Palace.

The relevance of the cycle of the Room Over the Vestibule to the planning of the tympana also needs comment. Mango and Hawkins correctly state that the choice of the bishops shows no special emphasis on the suppression of Iconoclasm, but from this they infer that, at the time of planning, Iconoclasm had lost much of its urgency. An alternative explanation is that our cycle was close in time, but earlier, and so it was thought otiose to repeat its message in the naos. On this line of reasoning the date proposed for the tympana might be a little too late, and these mosaics may belong to the late 870's. The execution of the lowest register must date after the death of Ignatios in 877, but, if the redecoration of the tympana was indeed made necessary by the earthquake of 869, as argued by Mainstone,¹²⁰ then it might have been planned in the 870's.

The decoration of the Room Over the Vestibule is conceivable as an integral part of a scheme in St. Sophia developed in the decade after 867. A date fairly close to that of the Church Fathers of the north tympanum is likely, for the differences between the two groups should not be overstressed. Photographs of the mosaics of the Room Over the Vestibule exaggerate the harshness of the modeling and of the transitions from light to shadow. In reality, these two sets of mosaics are closer to each other than either is to the narthex panel. No greater contrast in the treatment of heads occurs in the Macedonian period mosaics of St. Sophia than between the relatively soft modeling of Christ in the Room Over the Vestibule and the broad manner of the narthex Christ, where the face is built up on contrasts in groups of colored tesserae. The major difference between the Room Over the Vestibule and the tympana is in the handling of color. In extreme contrast to the limited range of colors of the generally pale and opaque tonality of the Church Fathers, the earlier figures fill with glittering pools of color a room which must have always been fairly dark and frequently lit by candles. This interest in color relates the Room to the apse mosaics of St. Sophia, and it also influenced the later cupola mosaics of St. Sophia in Thessaloniki.

The mosaics of the Room Over the Vestibule are best regarded as a stylistic bridge between the apse and tympana of St. Sophia rather than as a separate mode. The most significant difference is not in style so much as in quality. The striking homogeneity of the mosaics in the Room is confirmation that they belong to a single campaign of work, but there is another side to this conformity. The work is vigorous, yet somehow stereotyped and routine in

¹²⁰ Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," esp. 4-5 and 37-41; and Mainstone, "The Reconstruction of the Tympana" (note 83 *supra*), 355-68.

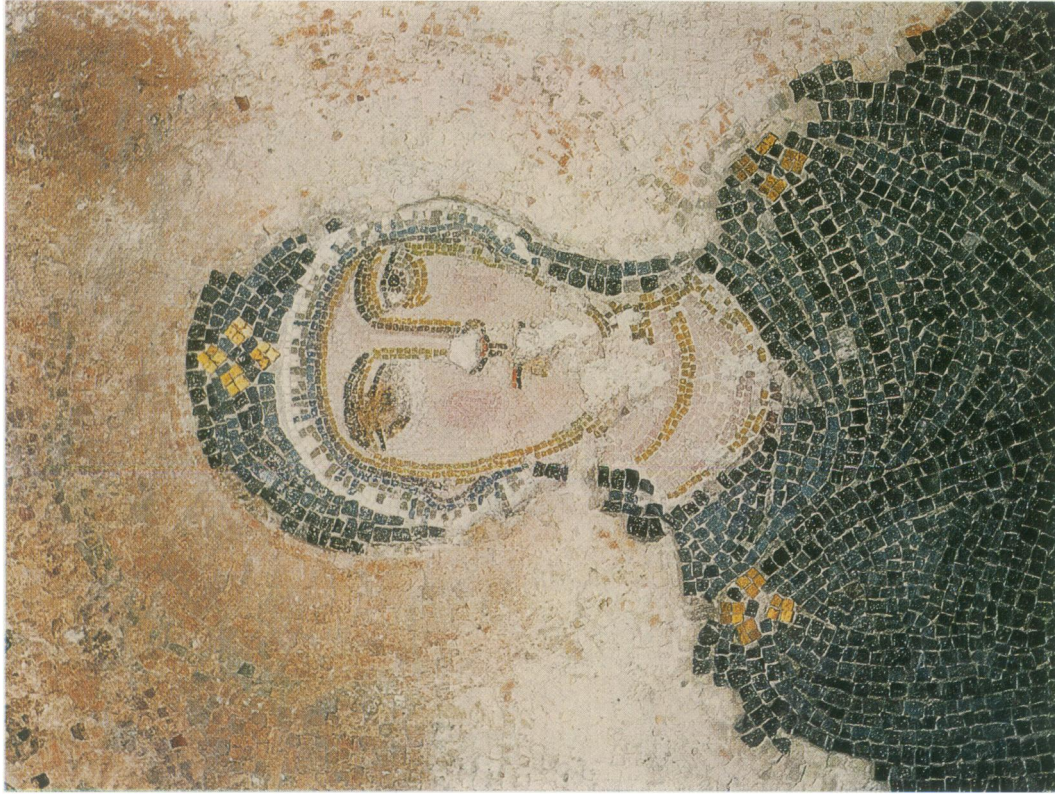
its production. Such a judgment of its quality assists in a comparison of the Virgin of the Deesis with the Virgin in the apse. They differ in scale and position, but in the faces the modeling and color and treatment of the flow of the tesserae are similar. This can more easily be recognized when allowance is made for the weakness of the mosaicist of the Deesis. Of course, it is not surprising to see such refinement and power in the apse, which represents one of the most important commissions of the Middle Ages.

Certain historical conditions are relevant to a dating of the mosaics of the Room Over the Vestibule, if a time after March 867 is to be upheld. Photios, in the seventeenth Homily delivered on 29 March 867, concluded with an appeal to the two Emperors for their patronage of further figurative art in St. Sophia. The political and ecclesiastical intrigues of that summer can hardly have been conducive to the arrangement of such works. The last week of September saw the assassination of Michael III (23–24 September) and the removal of Photios (25 September). The recall of Ignatios did not immediately terminate the protracted communications with the Papal court. Then, from 9 January 869, St. Sophia suffered earthquake damage for forty days, which was sufficient to induce Basil I to provide funds for repairs. However, the sessions of the Fourth Council could have been held in the south gallery of St. Sophia from October 869 to February 870. The 870's were years of relative calm, with more opportunity for artistic patronage. It was a decade of high density of mosaic production, during which the major documented commissions were SS. Sergios and Bacchos, the Virgin $\tau\eta\varsigma \Pi\eta\gamma\eta\varsigma$, and the Holy Apostles, and the Nea Church of Basil I; the situation might even be taken to support statistically the higher probability of the execution of our mosaics in the 870's.¹²¹

Possible indications of date are offered by the internal evidence of the mosaics themselves. Two points of detail in the iconography deserve highlighting. The first is the portrait of St. Constantine (figs. C [color] and 47), which should be contrasted with his representation in the lunette panel in the vestibule below.¹²² The differences are not limited to style; the iconographic type is different, our mosaic being distinguished by the dark bushy beard. The use of two types ought to correspond to a difference of intention. The meaning of the vestibule panel lies in its public claim of protection offered to city and church by the Virgin and Child. For this context Constantine appears more as a type of the young heroic saint than as an emperor. In the Room Over the Vestibule Constantine takes on the appearance of a contemporary Byzantine emperor and, moreover, bears a striking resemblance to a member of the family

¹²¹ Mango, *Brazen House*, 130, documents this sequence.

¹²² *Idem*, *Materials*, 23–24, 77 (for a clarification of the date of the tenth-century earthquake after which Whittemore dated the vestibule mosaic, i.e., after 26 October 989; the repairs to the church took six years). Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII (705–7)," 121–66, esp. 162–63, suggests a late ninth-century date for the vestibule panel.



A. The Virgin



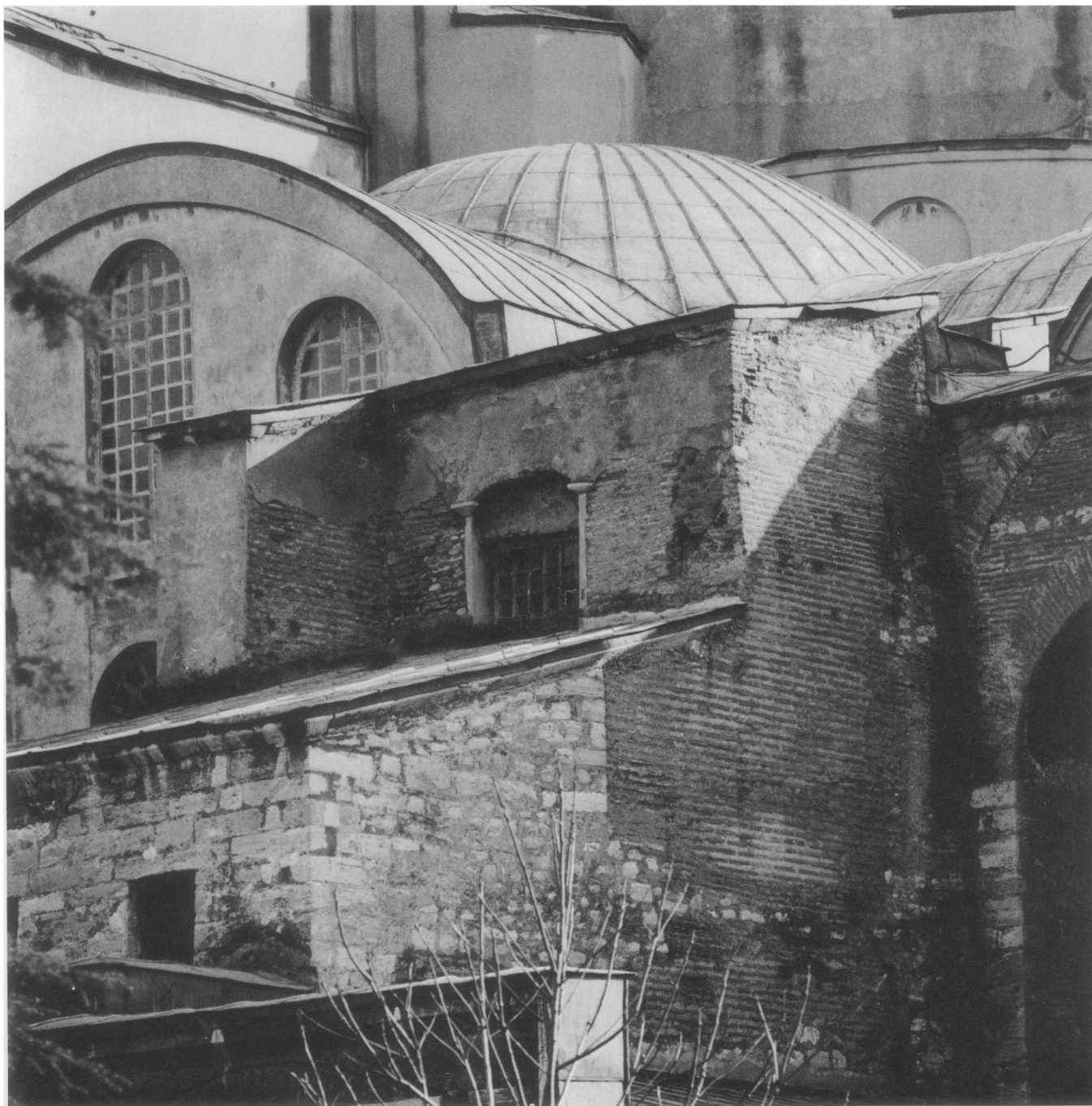
B. The Patriarch Nikephoros



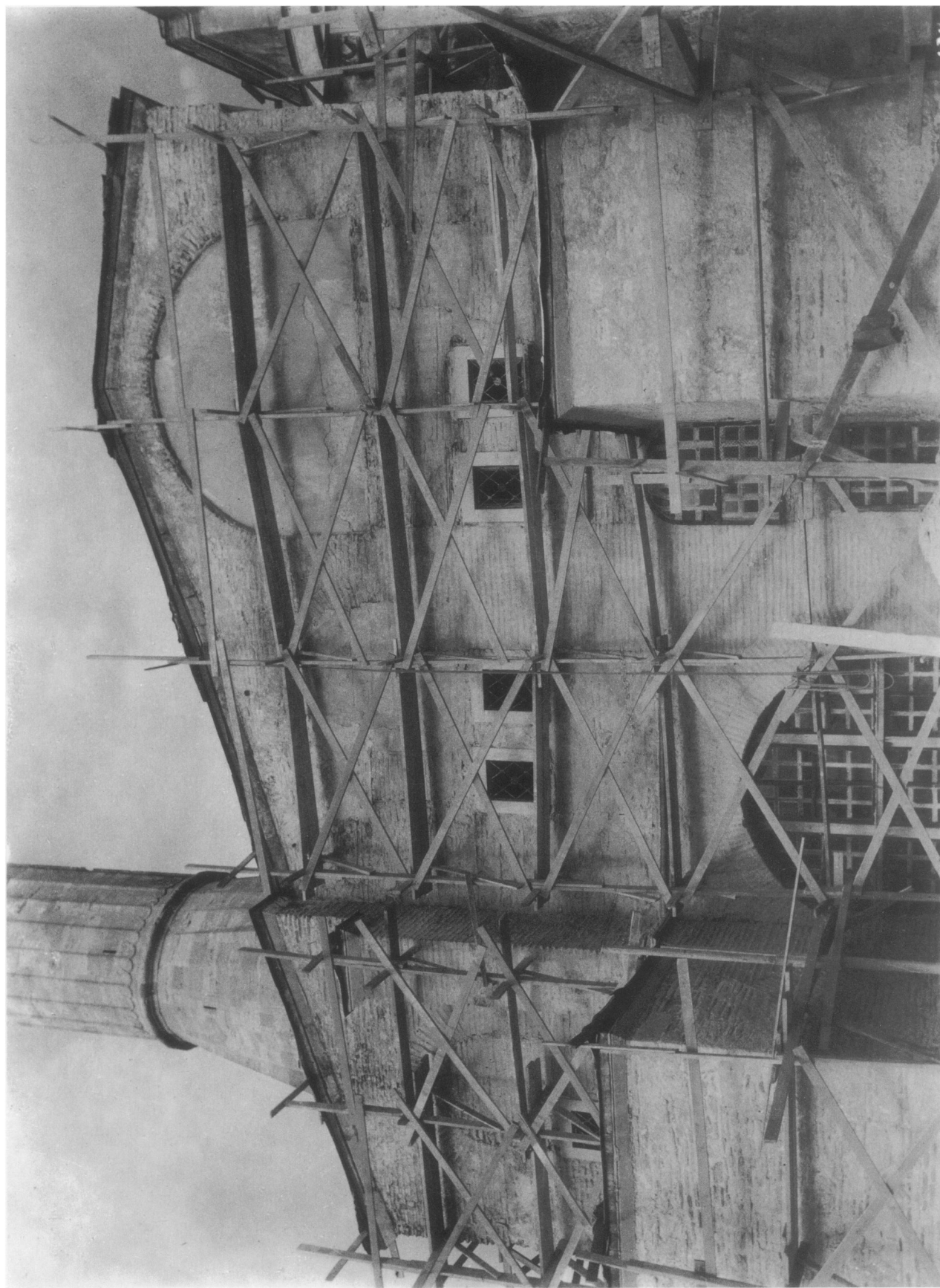
C. St. Constantine



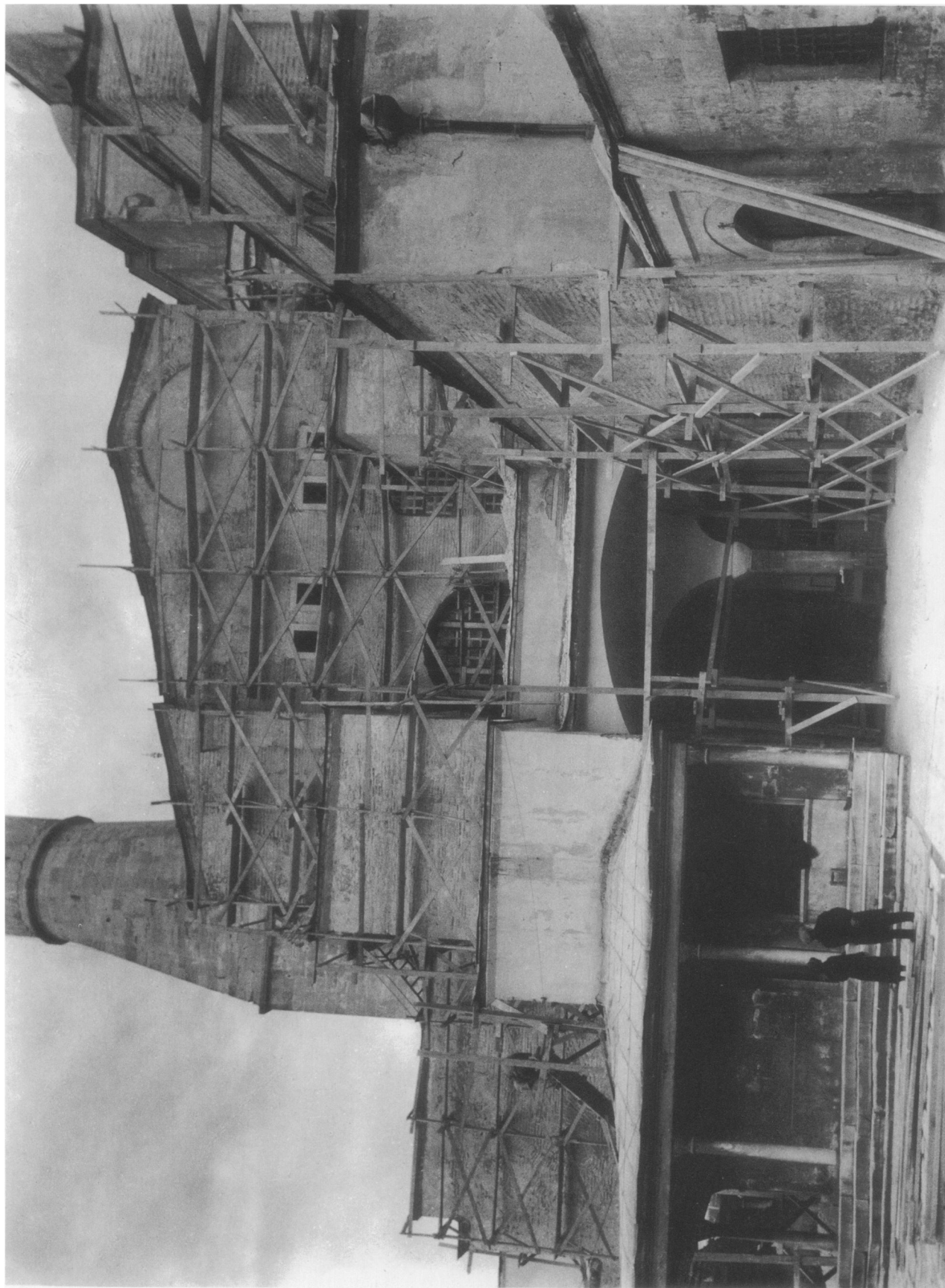
D. St. Simon Zelotes



1. St. Sophia, Northwest Ramp, Exterior



2. Upper Southwest Corner (winter 1936-37)



3. Southwest Corner (winter 1936-37)



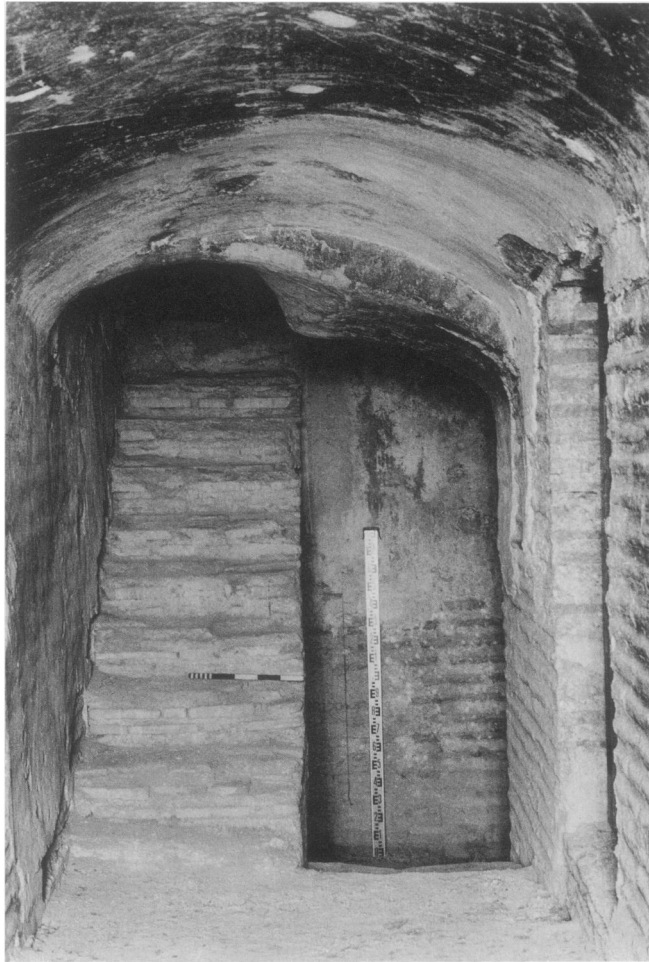
4. Room Over the Ramp, Southeast Corner



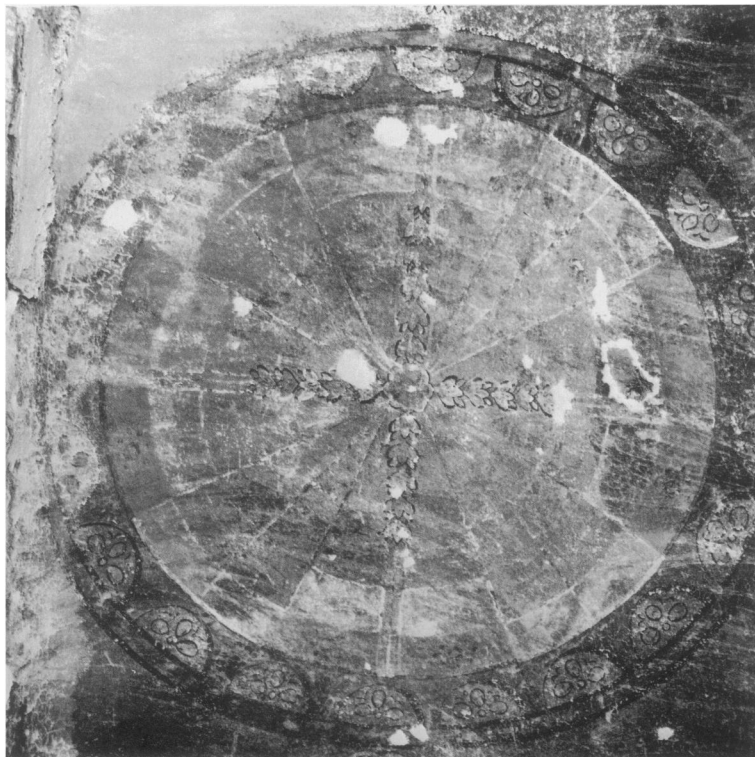
6. Room Over the Ramp, Southwest Corner, Floor



5. Head of Southwest Ramp (1954)

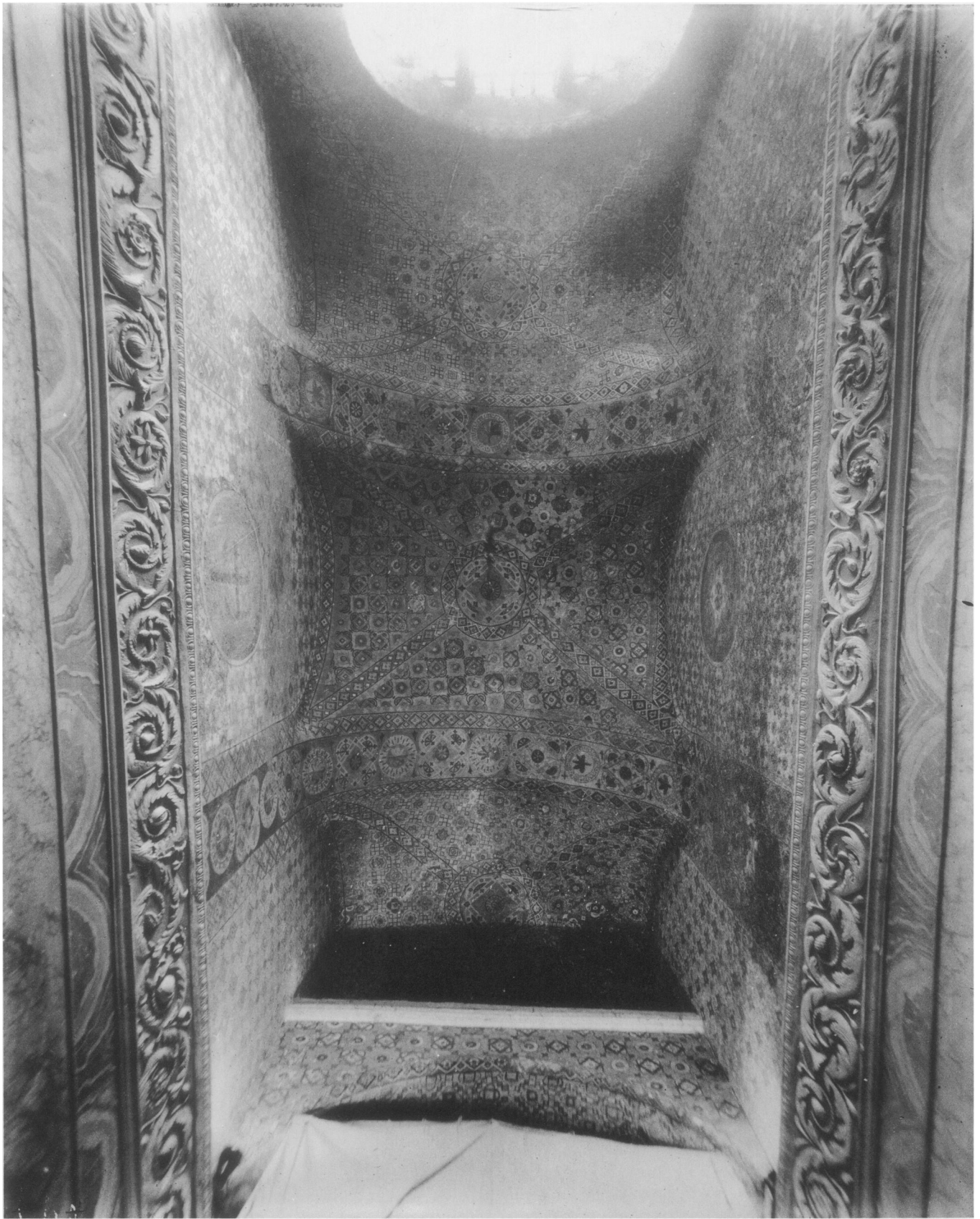


7. Staircase below Alcove (1973)



8. Vault. Fresco Cross

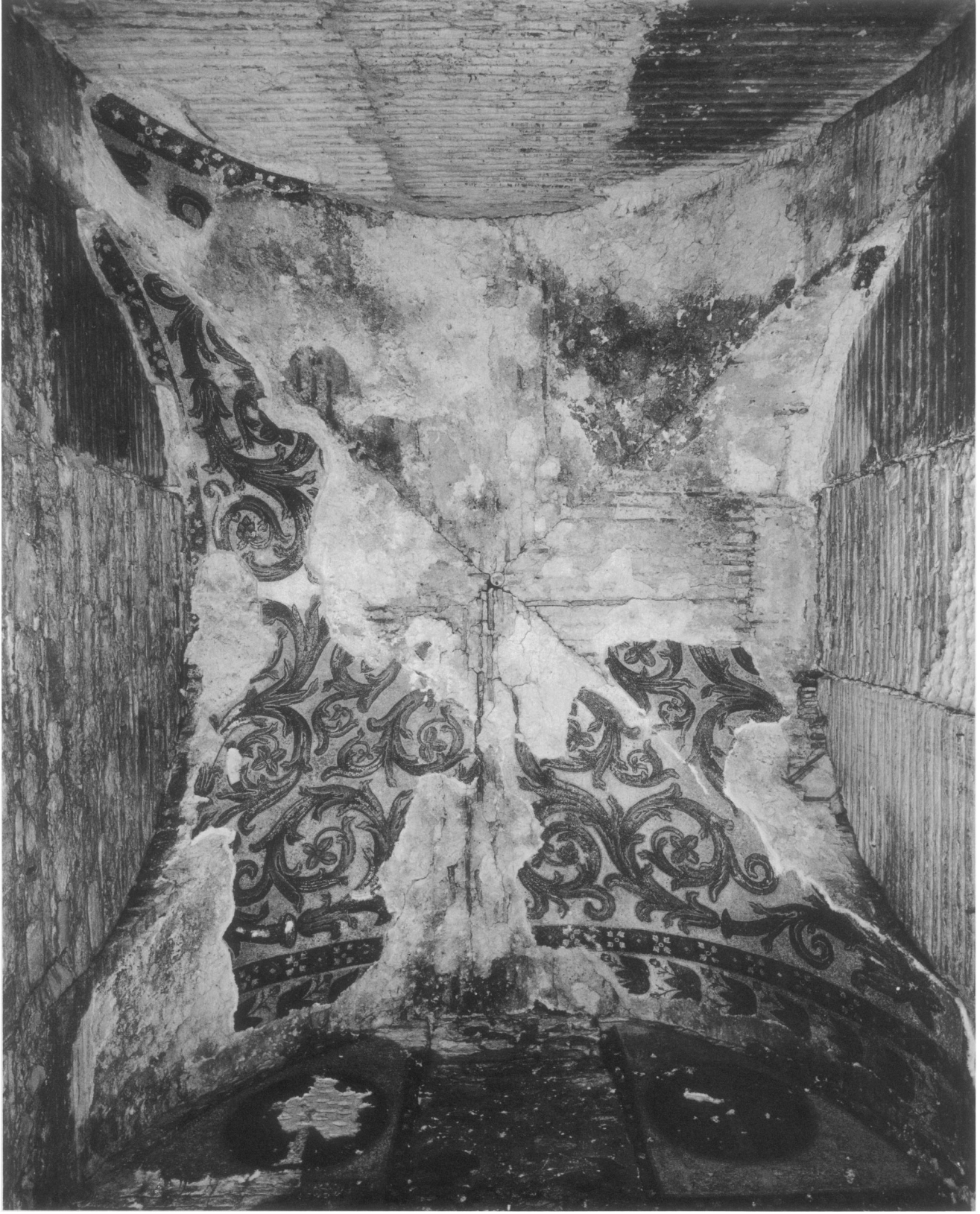
Southwest Ramp, Disused Section (Eighth Run)



9. Southwest Vestibule, Vault



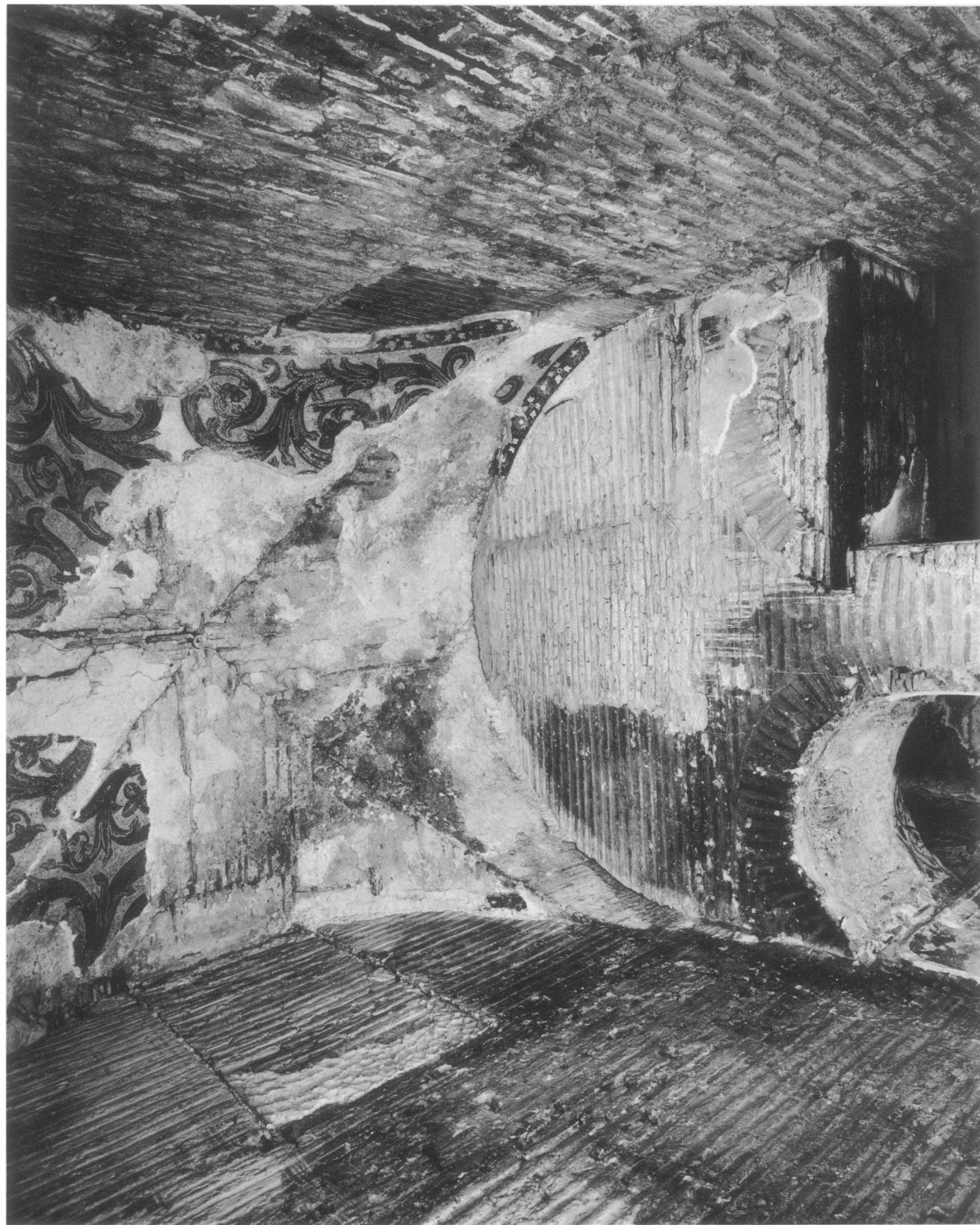
10. Room Over the Ramp, West Wall



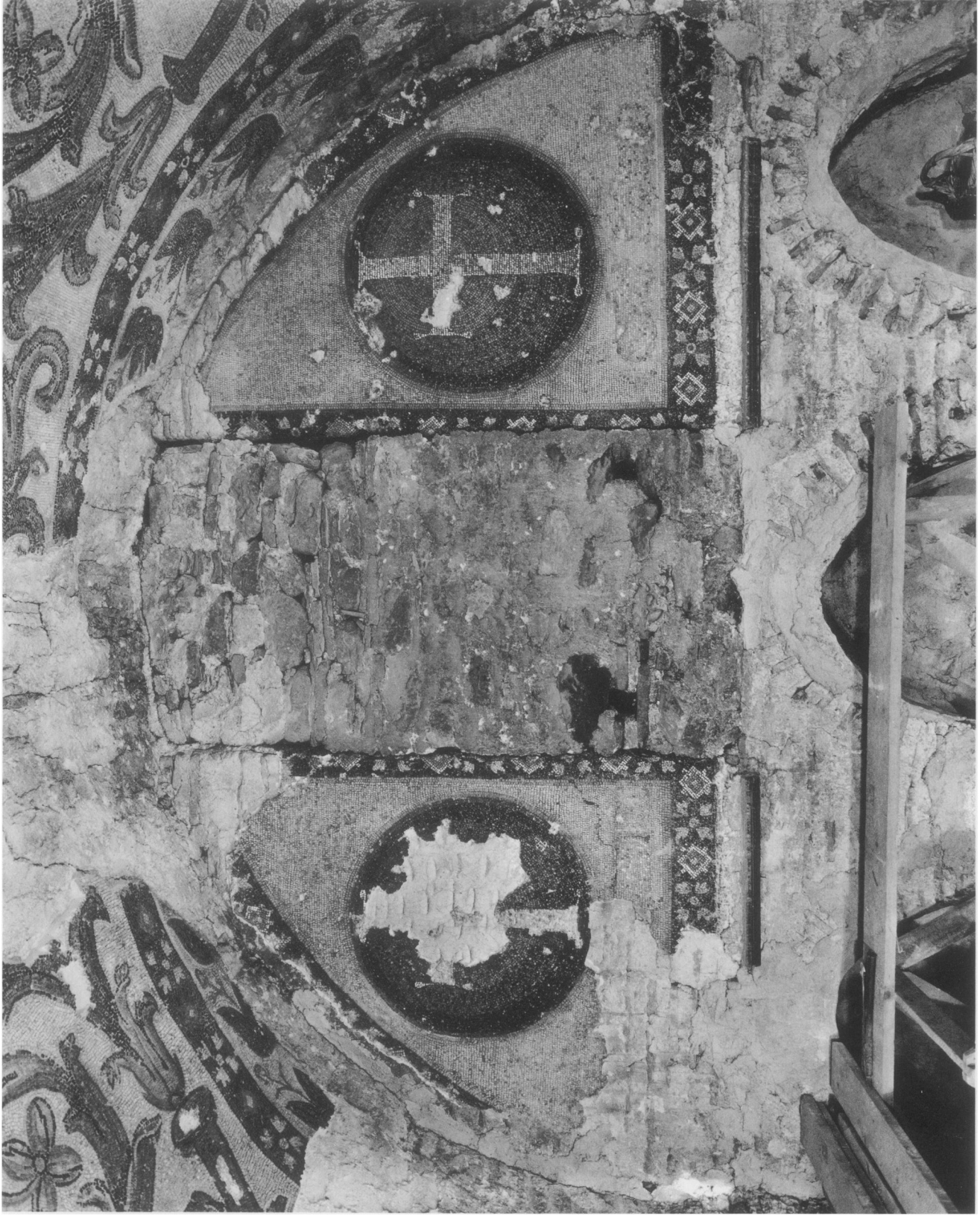
11. Room Over the Ramp, Vault



12: Room Over the Ramp, South Wall



13. Room Over the Ramp, North Wall



14. Room Over the Ramp, South Tympanum



15. Room Over the Ramp, Southwest Groin



16. Room Over the Ramp, Southeast Groin



17. Room Over the Ramp, West Tympanum

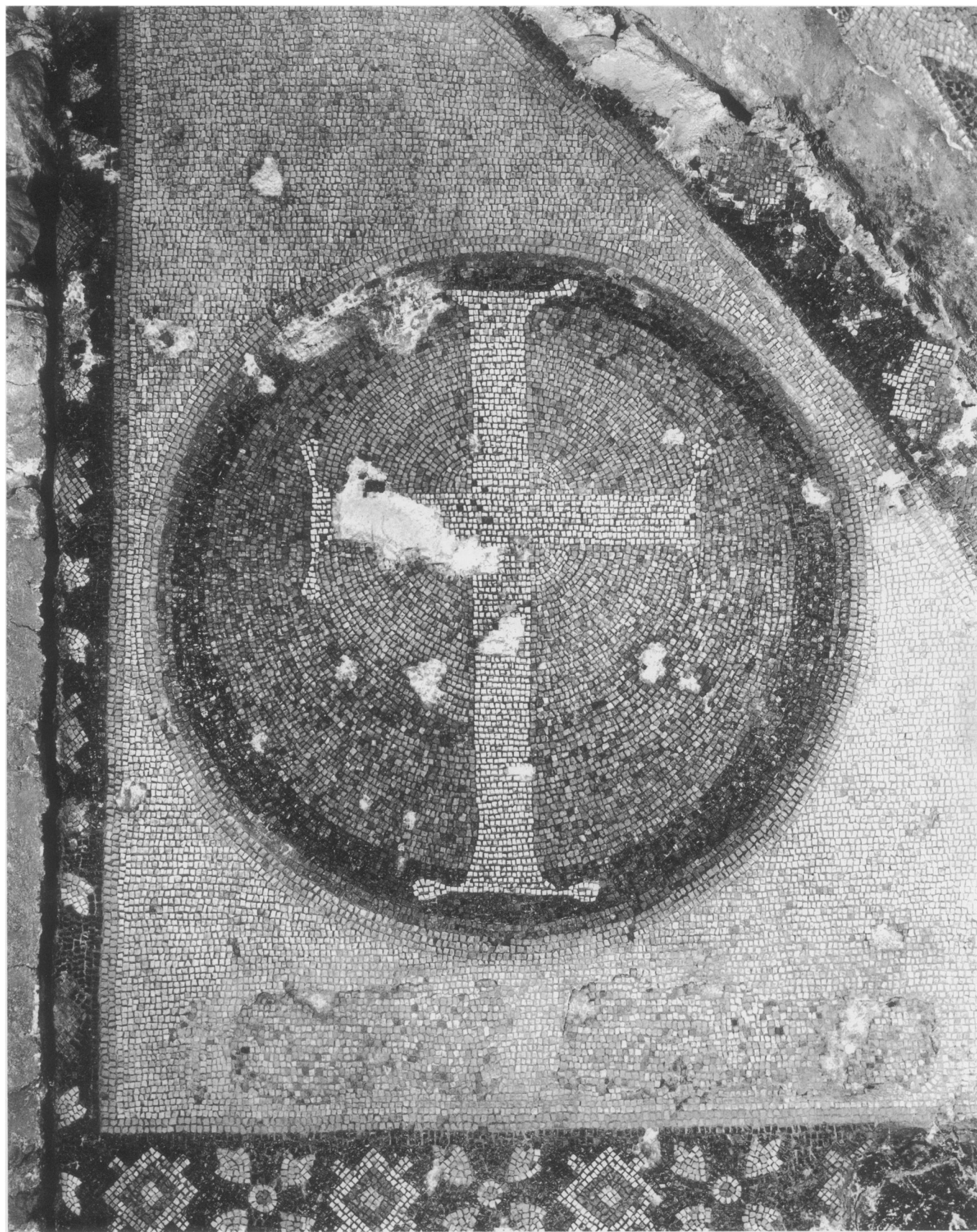


18. South Window, East Capital

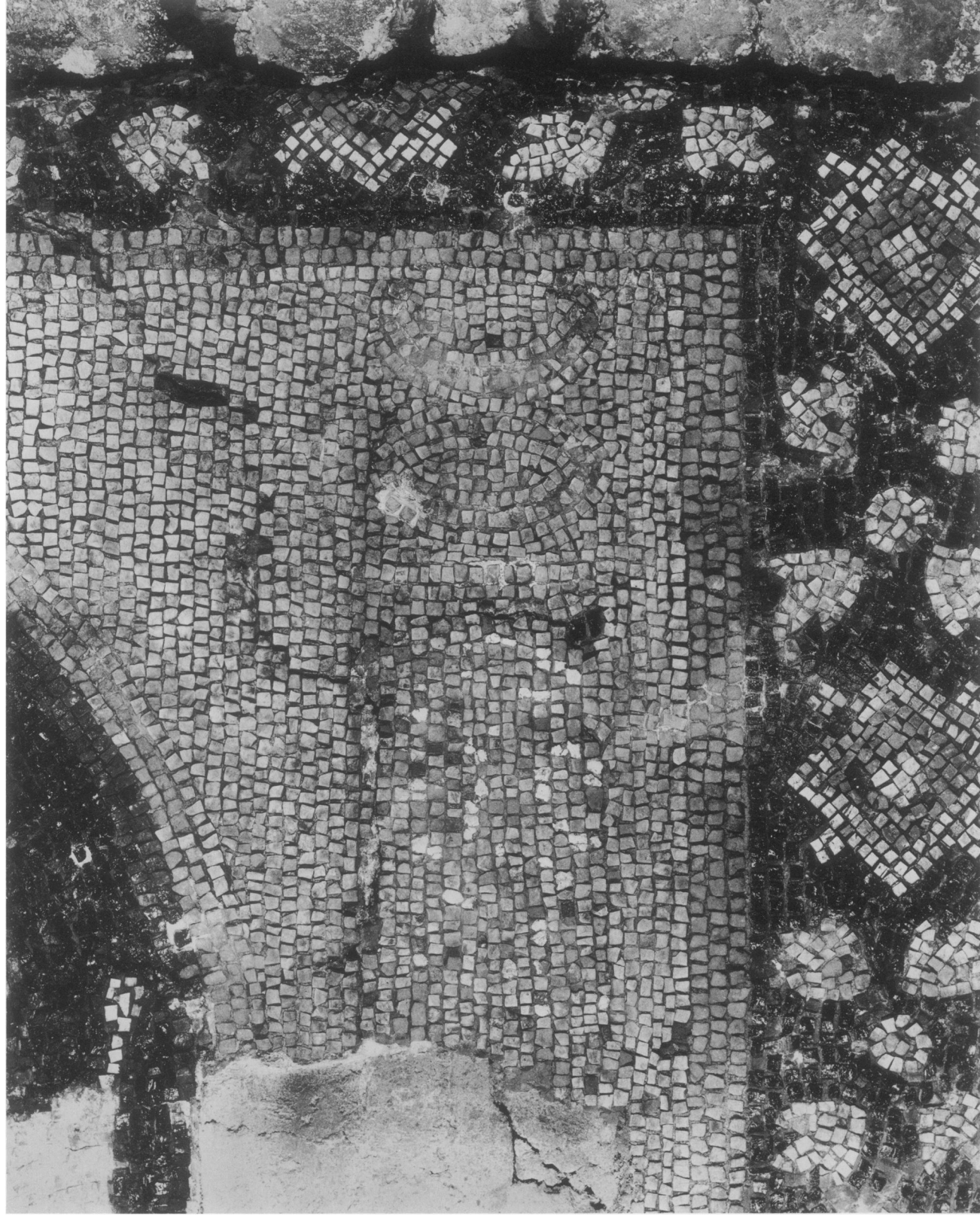


19. Northeast Corner

Room Over the Ramp



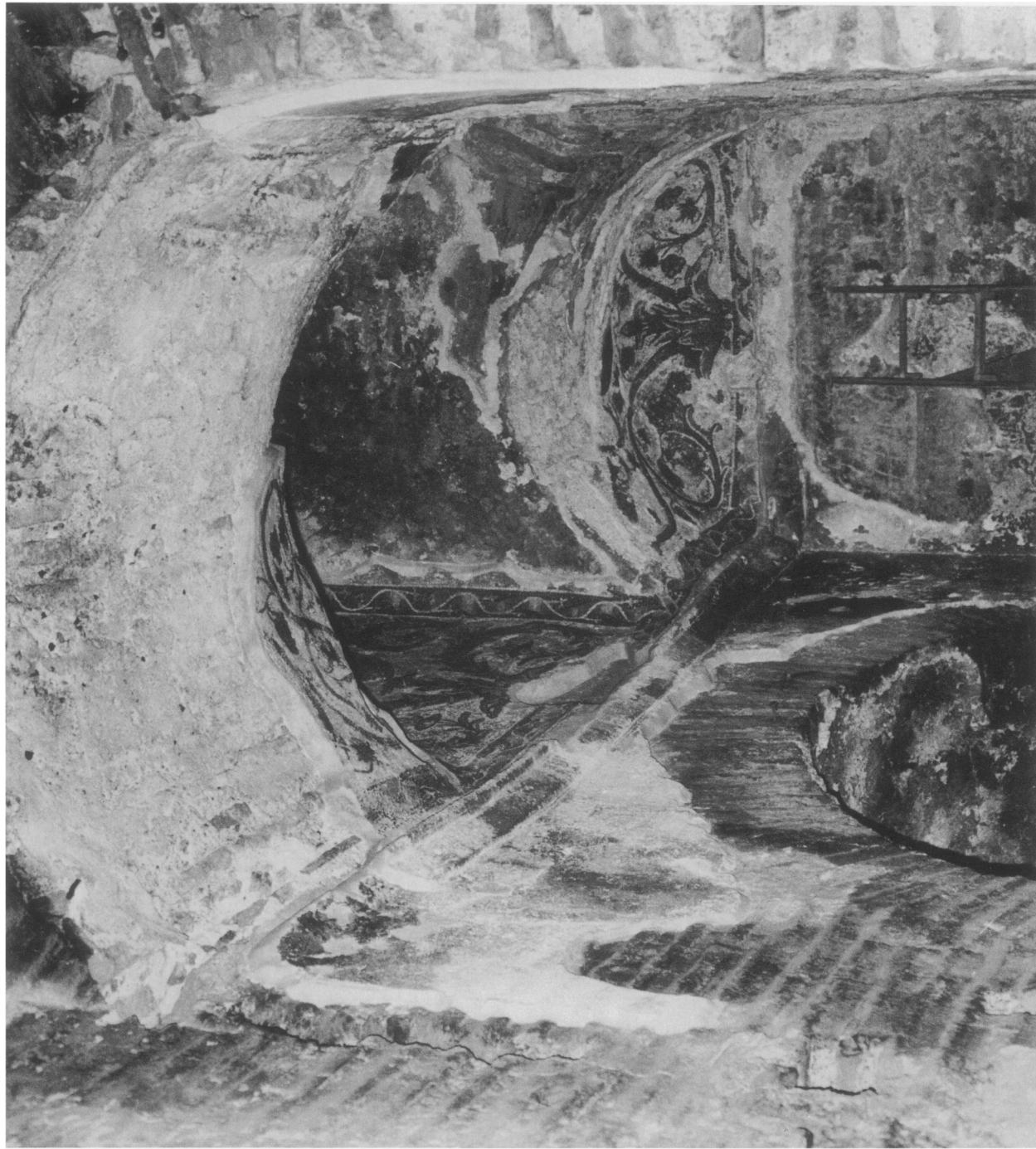
20. Room Over the Ramp, South Tympanum, Medallion to West



21. Room Over the Ramp, South Tympanum, Inscription below Medallion to East



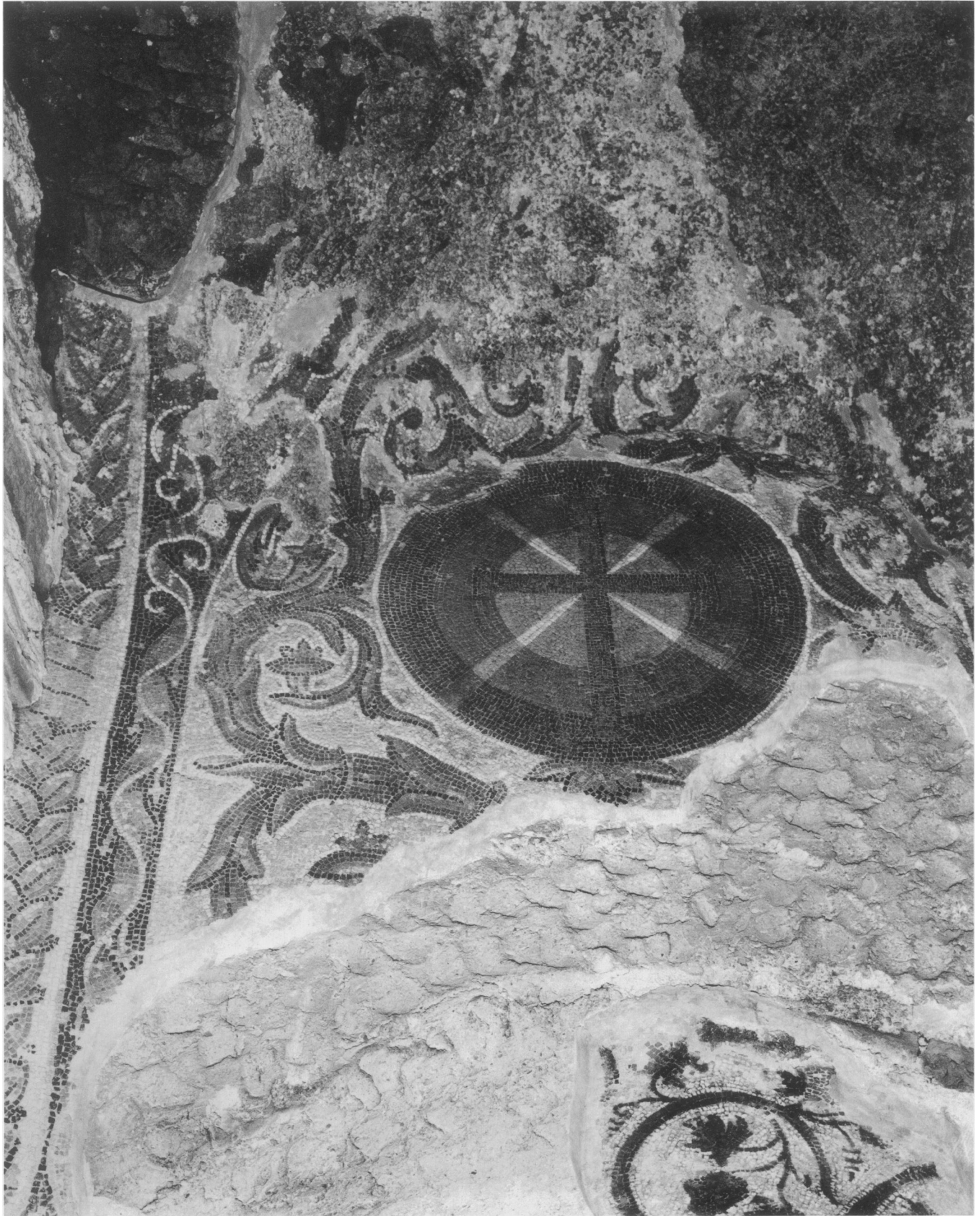
22. Alcove, North Wall, Conch



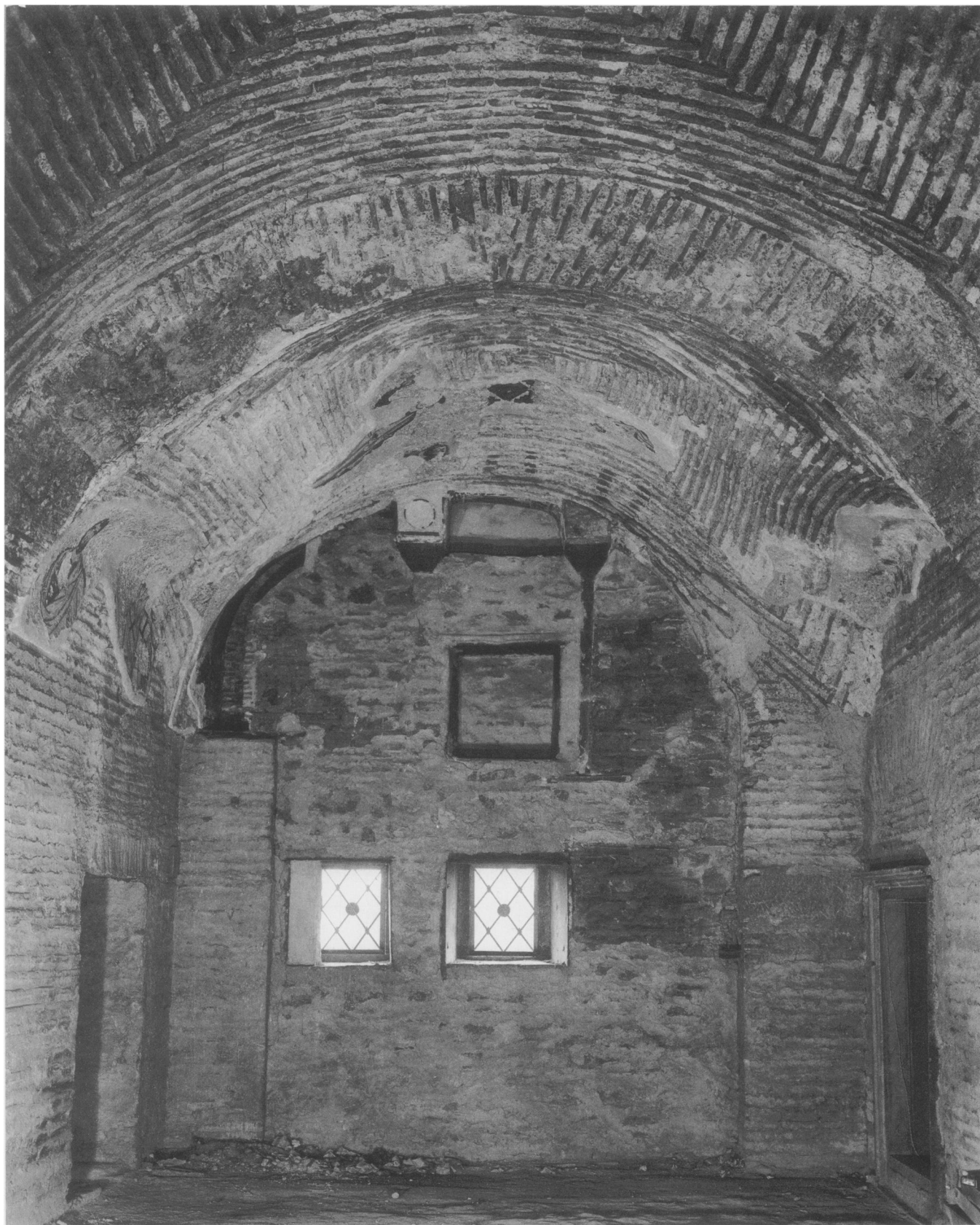
23. Alcove, View from Northwest Corner of Room Over the Ramp



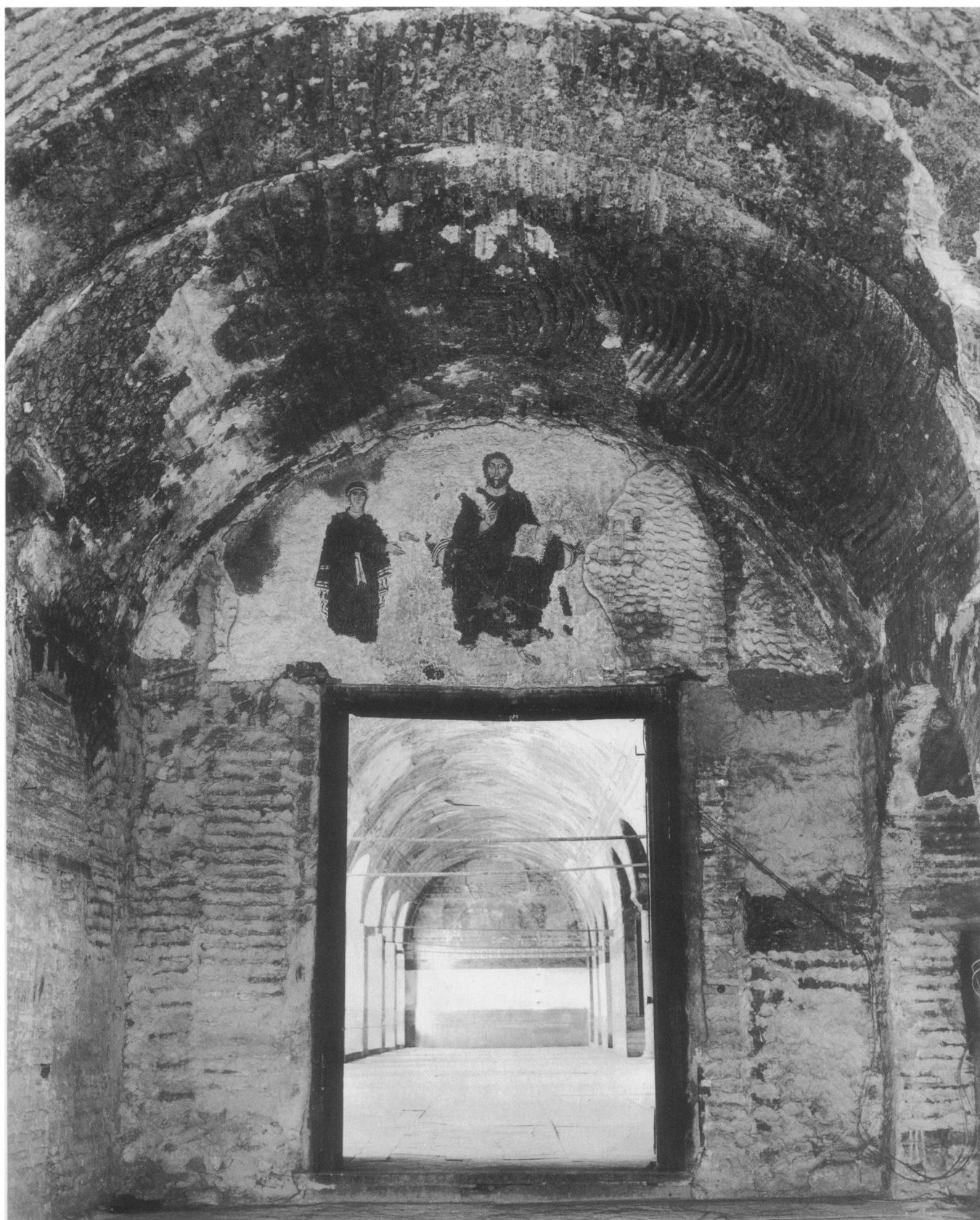
24. Alcove, Vault, looking West



25. Alcove, Vault, looking South



26. Room Over the Vestibule, looking South



27. Room Over the Vestibule, looking North

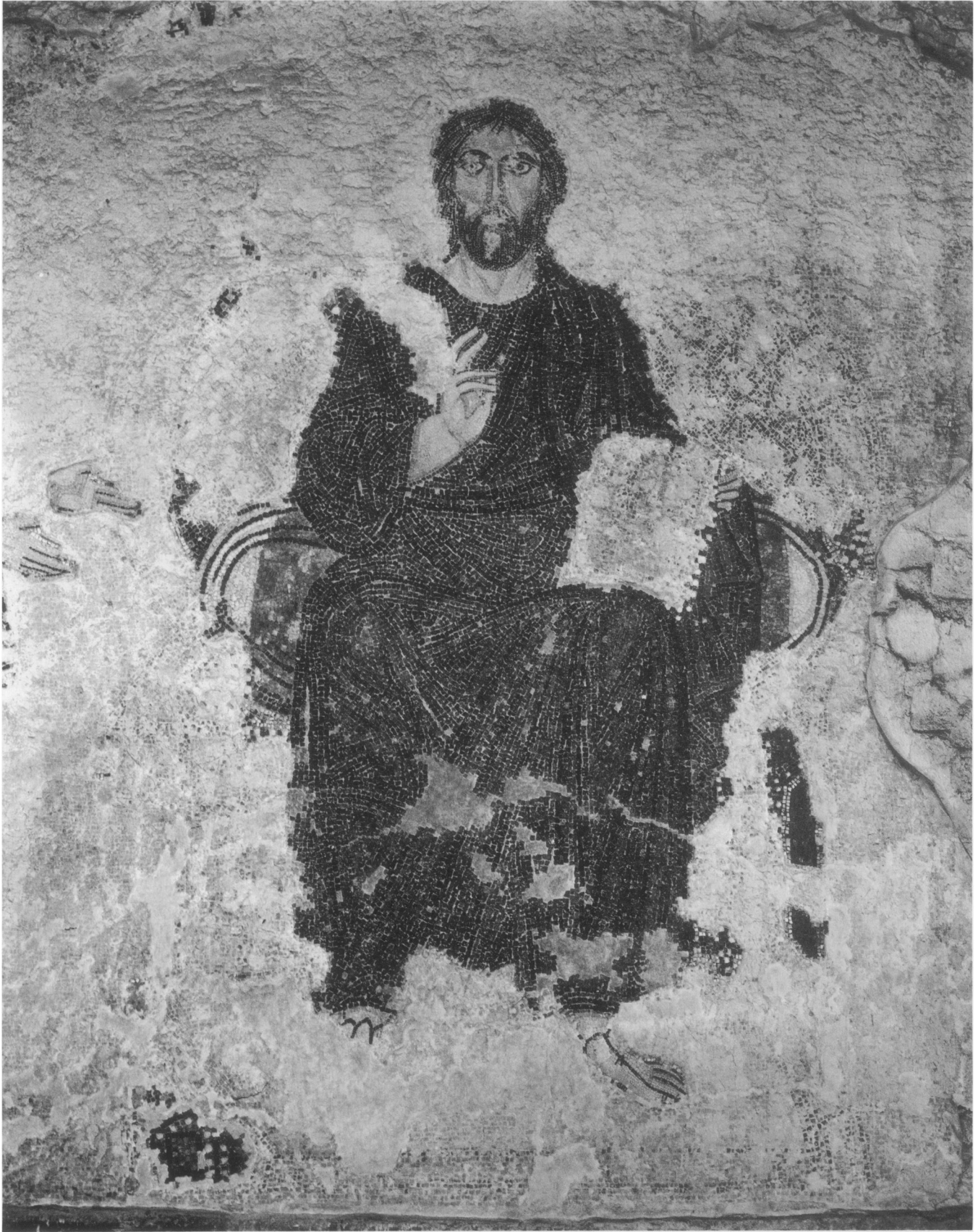


28. Room Over the Vestibule, North Tympanum. Deesis



29. Room Over the Vestibule, North Tympanum. Deesis

(Drawing: P. A. Underwood and E. J. W. Hawkins)



30. Room Over the Vestibule, North Tympanum. Deesis, detail, Christ

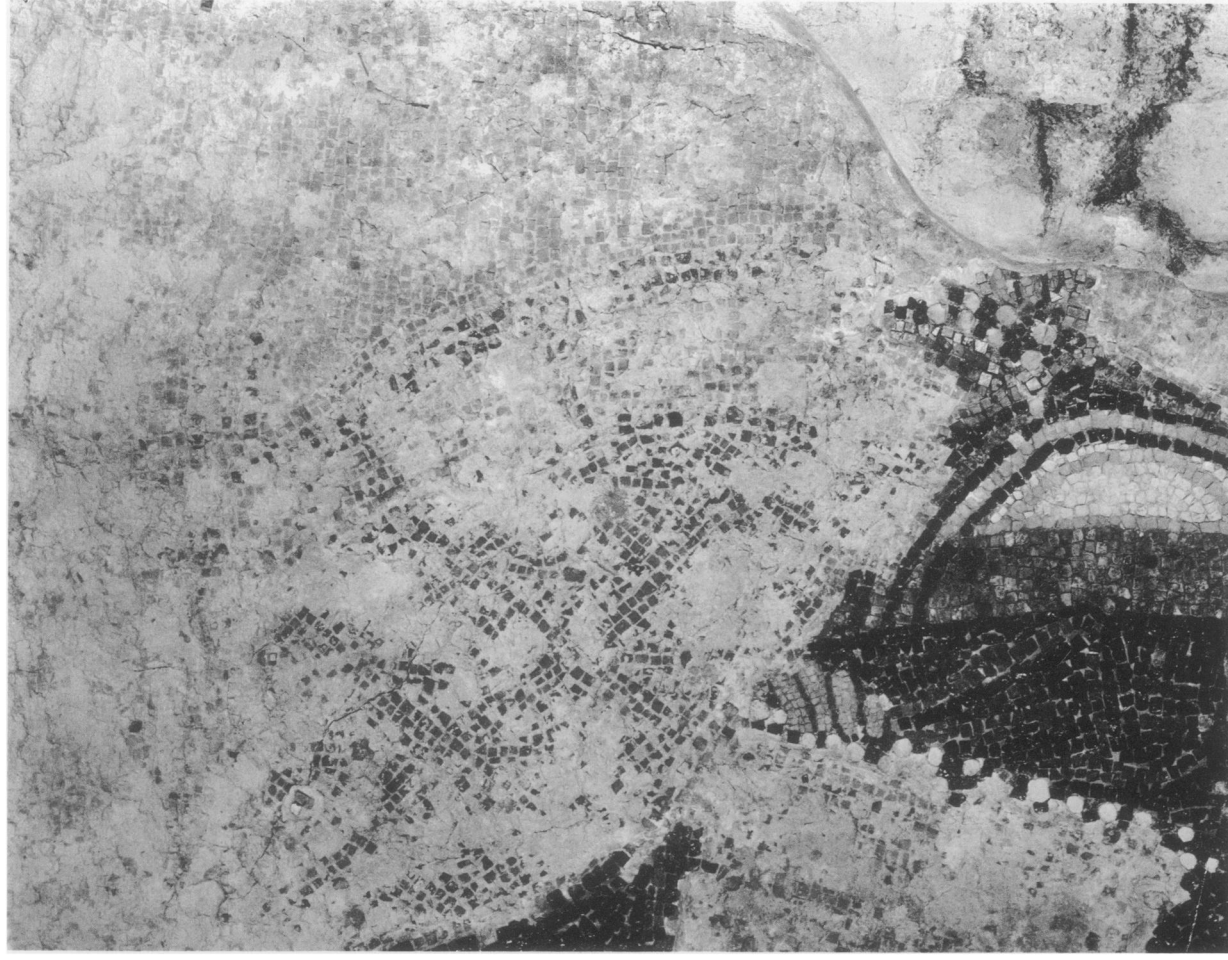


31. Room Over the Vestibule, North Tympanum. Deesis, detail, Christ (Drawing: Underwood and Hawkins)



32. Head of Christ

Room Over the Vestibule, North Tympanum. Deesis, details



33. Throne, Right Side



34. Left Foot of Christ



35. Byzantine Repair of Footstool

Room Over the Vestibule, North Tympanum. Deesis, details



36. Room Over the Vestibule, North Tympanum. Deesis, detail, The Virgin



37. Room Over the Vestibule, North Tympanum. Deesis, detail, Head of The Virgin



38. Room Over the Vestibule, East Spandrel between First and Second Bays. St. Peter and Ezekiel



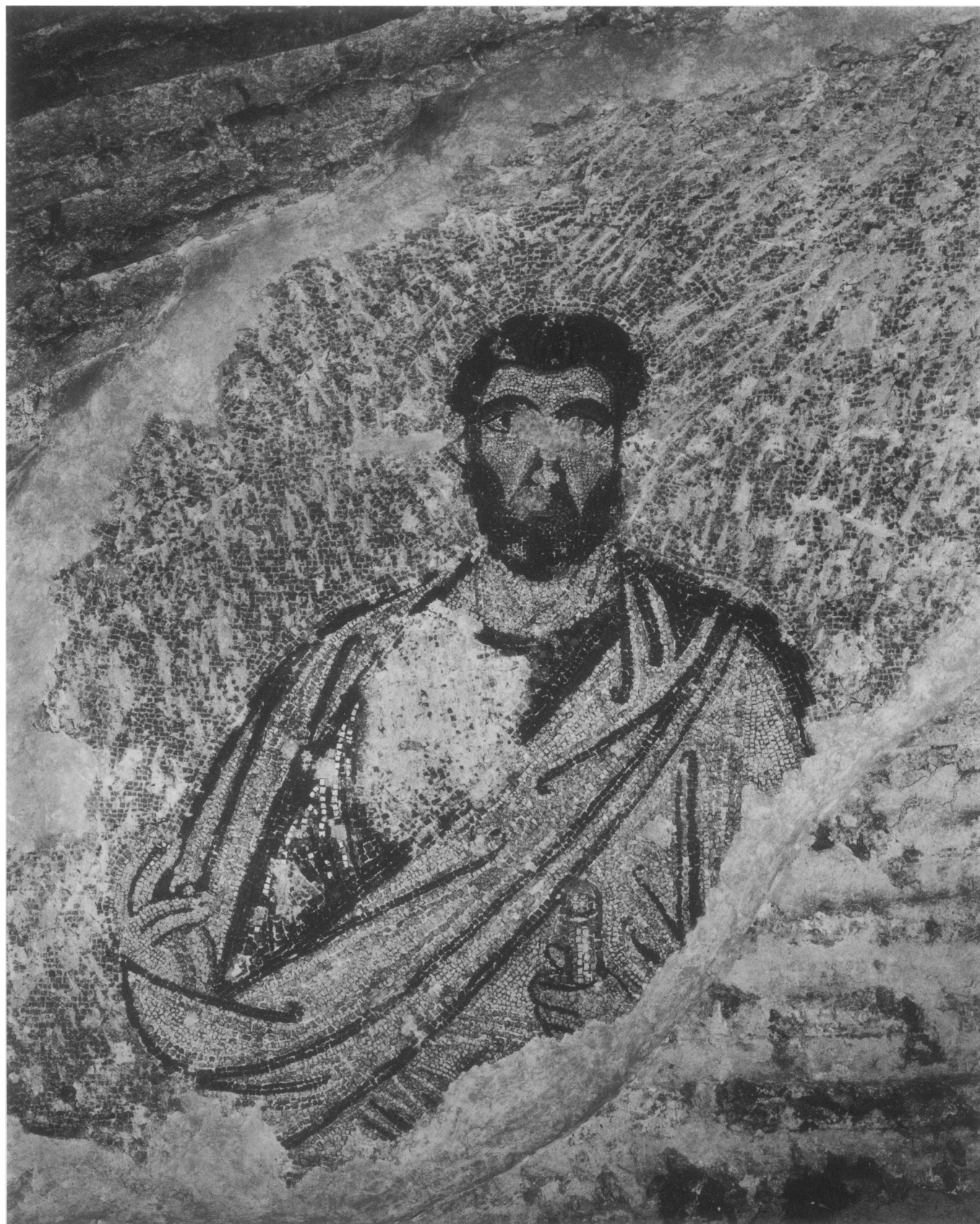
39. Central Bay, East Lunette. St. Andrew and Unidentified Apostle (St. Luke?)



40. South Bay, West Lunette. The Patriarchs Methodios and Tarasios and St. James
Room Over the Vestibule



41. Room Over the Vestibule, South Bay, East Lunette. St. Simon Zelotes and The Patriarchs Germanos and Nikephoros



42. Room Over the Vestibule, South Bay, East Lunette. St. Simon Zelotes



43. St. Simon Zelotes, detail

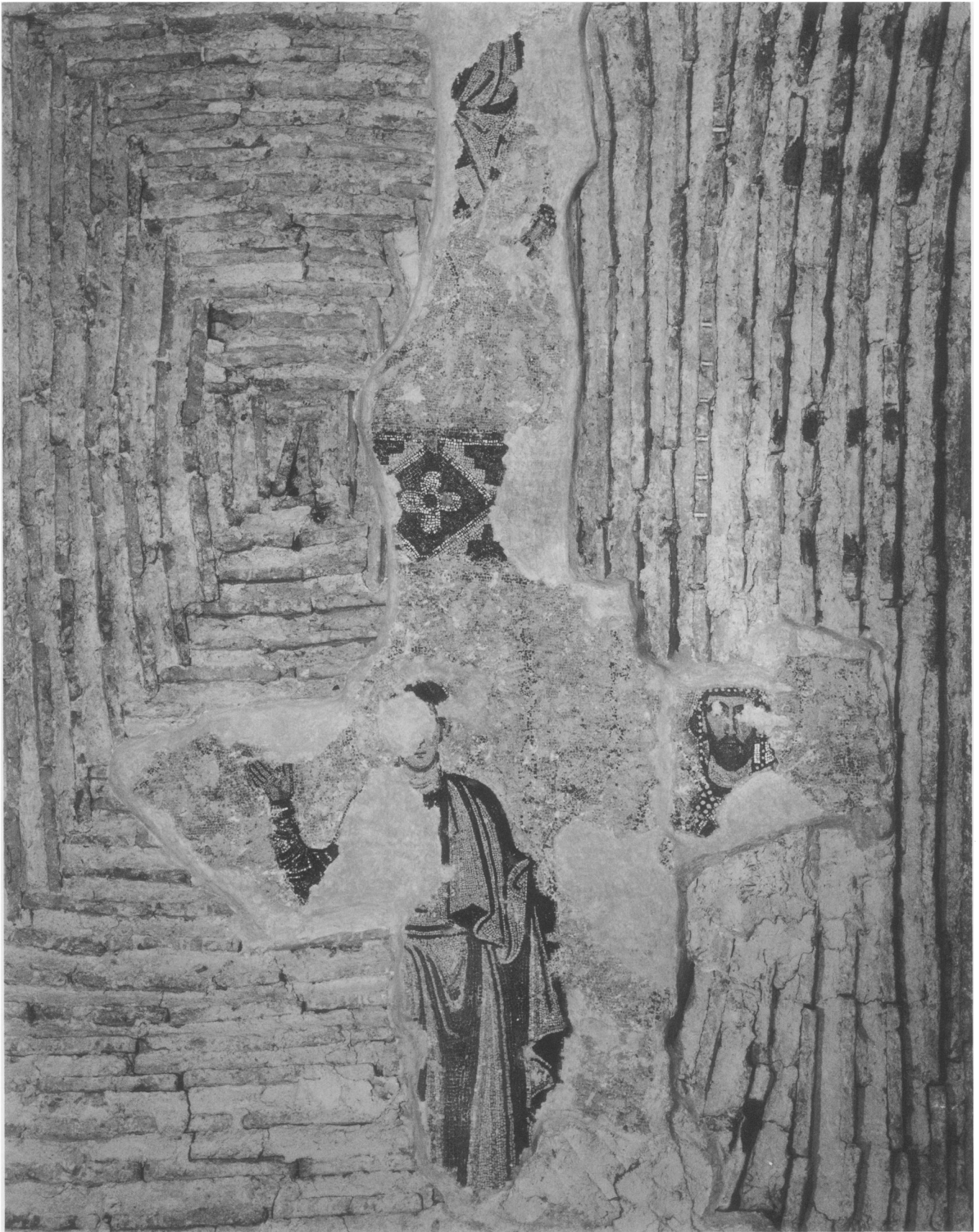


44. The Patriarch Nikephoros, detail

Room Over the Vestibule, South Bay, East Lunette



45. Room Over the Vestibule, South Bay, East Lunette. The Patriarch Nikephoros



46. Room Over the Vestibule, South Bay, Vault. Unidentified Saint, St. Stephen the Protomartyr, St. Constantine the Great below, Unidentified Bishop and St. Helena (?) above



47. Room Over the Vestibule, South Bay, Vault. St. Constantine



48. East Soffit



49. Central Light

Room Over the Vestibule, South Window

of Basil I, as portrayed in St. Sophia in the Alexander panel and probably in that of the narthex. This type of Constantine may therefore be deliberately intended to demonstrate the ideal prototype of the reigning emperor. A similar use of images to express religious ideas and to serve the imperial mystique has been found characteristic of the manuscript cod. Paris. gr. 510, made for Basil I but probably planned in the Patriarchate.¹²³ Its miniatures include the theme that Constantine's successors owed their victory to divine intervention and to the sign of the cross. The resemblance of our Constantine to the portrait of Alexander raises a further question. Basil's eldest son from his first marriage, on whom he laid his hopes for the continuation of his dynasty, was named Constantine. He was crowned co-emperor in 869, but died on 3 September 879.¹²⁴ If this mosaic was meant to show the renascence of the ideal prototype in the person of the young co-emperor, its date would lie in this decade of his office.

The second interesting element of the iconography is the type of throne on which Christ is seated in majesty in the Deesis panel (figs. 24 and 31). The use of a throne with a "lyre-shaped" back will naturally be compared with the same type in the narthex panel and on Macedonian coins. Grierson has analyzed the designs of these coins, giving particular attention to the throne back, the positions of Christ's right hand, and the portraiture of the emperors.¹²⁵ He proposes that a sequence of changes in coin types results from the copying of a series of up-to-date monumental icons. Since the coins of Basil I, Leo VI, and Alexander show the enthroned Christ with His right hand outstretched, they cannot, according to his argument, be copies of the narthex panel or of the Deesis in the Room Over the Vestibule. His argument is reasoned, though not all the points of detail are conclusive; the outstretched hand of Christ need not imply in the model of these coins the presence of the figure of a suppliant Virgin, for in our Deesis, where the Virgin does stand beside Christ, there is no outstretched hand. More crucial for the present discussion is Grierson's final step. He finds either the narthex panel or our Deesis to be the new icon which initiated the coin types of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. His dating of the Deesis to the tenth century is at variance with our attribution to Photios

¹²³ See Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory"; Miss Der Nersessian refers to our mosaic representation on p. 220 note 108, where it is pointed out that in the manuscript, as in the Room Over the Vestibule, Constantine is shown bearded.

¹²⁴ For a vivid assessment of the role of Constantine in the calculations of Basil I, see R. J. H. Jenkins, *Byzantium. The Imperial Centuries* (New York, 1966), 195-96. Constantine was born about 859. The theory put forward by I. Spatharakis, "The Portraits and the Date of the Codex *Par. Gr. 510*," *CahArch*, 23 (1974), 97-105, and subsequently reiterated in *idem*, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), 96-99, may offer support for a possible reference to Constantine in our Room. However, there are obstacles against accepting his identification of the underdrawing of Paris. gr. 510, fol. B^v, as the co-emperor Constantine and explaining the book as a gift, in honor of the successful campaign in Germanicia, which was under production at the time of his death. The possibility that the representation of St. Constantine as the prototype of the bearded emperor might even have an anti-iconoclastic reference deserves mention: it might be recalled that Constantine V was beardless, and tried to compel his subjects to shave (*Vita Stephani Iunioris*, PG, 100, col. 1133).

¹²⁵ Grierson, *Coin Catalogue* (note 69 *supra*), esp. 154ff. In one element (the viewpoint from which the footstool is seen) the Room Over the Vestibule differs from the narthex panel; the sequence of coins corresponds with the narthex panel.

or Ignatios on the basis of the whole program. This discrepancy must lead us to criticize his method, and we notice that Grierson confesses to a lack of conviction with the remark that if the mosaics of the Room Over the Vestibule turn out to be late ninth century, the impediments to making the narthex panel contemporary with the coins of Basil I would vanish.

The fault in Grierson's method may be to scrutinize too closely the details of the thrones portrayed, and to overemphasize deviations such as the ball shape in the side frames of the narthex throne. The alternative approach is to treat the representations of the throne as a series of copies of one model carried out at various levels of expertise and with the usual medieval variations and idiosyncrasies. There is then no need to relate the changes in the coins to their dependence on new icons; instead, these changes represent in this series a chronological "improvement" of artistic "schemata" in accordance with a growing visual interest in greater naturalism. From such an interpretation, we have a period of stylistic advance among die-casters rather than a series of iconographic changes. The evidence of the coins does not therefore require us to date the Deesis panel in the Room to a period later than the reign of Basil I. It follows that there is nothing in the iconography of the throne in the narthex panel to exclude its attribution also during the reign of Basil I; its date needs to be assessed on other criteria.

The question remains, of course, of the nature of the prototype of the lyre-backed throne represented, among other places, in these two mosaics and in the coins. According to Grierson, the distinctive shape of this type of throne derives from the copyists' attempts to render in two dimensions a throne with distinctive arms. The recent full treatment by Cutler of the history of this type of throne denies that such a piece of furniture ever had a real existence in Byzantium—for him it is a purely notional throne invented in art as a visual code to convey the Orpheus element in Christ.¹²⁶ For our part, we find no difficulty in reconstructing an actual throne from these representations. Its basic material would be wood, though probably overlaid with precious metals and jewels. Its two main elements would be a broad rectangular seat and a high flat back. The supports of the back curve outward, and a horizontal rod is slotted into them; from this rod would hang some precious ornamented material. The architectural construction of such a throne is designed to amplify the dimensions of the seated figure—it would convey an exaggerated impression of his breadth and height, and so enhance his power.

¹²⁶ A. Cutler, *Transfigurations: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (University Park, Pa., 1975), esp. 5–52 (the lyre-backed throne); while acknowledging the breadth of the argument presented in this extensive study, we disagree with its basic premise and so for us its conclusions are invalid. Some of the points made against the existence of such a throne in the Great Palace are rhetorical; the fact that there is no textual description of a lyre-back throne is most simply explained as due to a lack of this kind of source—the *Book of Ceremonies* is intended for users who did not need descriptions of the ceremonial objects around them. If it is correct to visualize a lyre-backed throne in the Chrysotriklinos, then it would not have been described by such visitors as Liutprand of Cremona or Benjamin of Tudela who were not of the status to enter this restricted environment. One possible explanation for the invention of the type might be offered by the mosaic version in the apse of the church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi, Cyprus; the curving uprights appear as if made of ivory. Did this type of throne originate from the use of elephant tusks?

Even if it is accepted that the two mosaic representations of a lyre-back throne in St. Sophia derive from an actual throne in Byzantium, it cannot of course be assumed that these copies were made directly from the model. At present, the most attractive suggestion is that the artists of one or both panels knew the decoration of the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace.¹²⁷ This centrally-planned building, erected by Justin II, was redecorated after Iconoclasm, and the content of the mosaics, datable to 856–66, was given in a verse description “around the ceiling.”¹²⁸ Its theme of the orthodox champions against Iconoclasm has similarities with the cycle of the Room Over the Vestibule. The focal point of the mosaics was the representation of Christ enthroned in the east apse of the building. The main function for which the Chrysotriklinos was built was to act as a throne room for very special occasions. The eastern *kamara* or bema contained the imperial throne, which was either made for Justin II or his successor Tiberios I Constantine, or was transferred from another hall in the Palace in the late sixth century. The suggestion is that this imperial throne was of the form we have reconstructed, with a lyre-shaped back, and that the ninth-century mosaic of Christ above it copied the same type, thus conveying the concept that the ruler on earth is the image of Christ above; since this idea is already expressed by Corippus, such a decoration might also have existed in the late sixth century, but this cannot be assumed. The evidence of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos in the *Book of Ceremonies* is that the Chrysotriklinos, which was the nucleus around which the imperial family lived, played a part in religious ceremonial, although its chief importance as a throne room lay in special civil and state occasions. It was the assembly place in the early morning of major festivals and the finishing point for processions (the emperor’s ceremonial garments were kept here). Before departure, the emperor would pray in front of the mosaic image of Christ enthroned. Otherwise, this hall was used on Palm Sunday when the emperor distributed crosses, and on the Thursday after Easter when he gave the kiss of peace to the court and church leaders. The position of the two mosaics in St. Sophia may therefore be appropriate for a representation of Christ enthroned in a similar form to that in the Chrysotriklinos. The narthex panel is above the imperial doors where the procession paused and the emperor prayed before entering the church. As for the panel in the Room Over the Vestibule, it probably decorates the starting point of the patriarch’s procession into the church; and since it is above the entrance into the church from the Patriarchate, no doubt a prayer before entry was made below it. The function of these rooms of the Patriarchate was in a sense equivalent to that of the Chrysotriklinos in the Great Palace, for access to them was limited and they had special ceremonial functions. Like the Chrysotriklinos, this area may have acted as the patriarch’s treasury. For these reasons, we are attracted by the idea that the use of the particular type of

¹²⁷ Cf. A. R. Bellinger, “Byzantine Notes,” *MN*, 13 (1967), 123–66, esp. 152–53; and Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography* (note 71 *supra*), esp. 49 ff. See also Grierson, *Coin Catalogue*, esp. 154 ff.

¹²⁸ Mango, *Art*, 184.

throne for Christ in the Room Over the Vestibule was in conscious imitation of the Chrysotriklinos, though from the nature of the evidence this must remain uncertain. What is sure is that this iconographical type in this particular version is compatible with a date in the 870's.

Two ninth-century texts should be brought into the discussion of the program of the Room Over the Vestibule. The *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* was, before the Comnenian period, a justification of the holy images, and not of Orthodoxy in general.¹²⁹ Its text expresses the doctrine on images, but it devotes particular emphasis to two possibilities for visual illustration—Old Testament prophecies or visions of the New Testament, and images of the Virgin, partly through Old Testament typology (lines 76ff.). This kind of formulation may have been the stimulus for the choice of some of the figures in the Room, though a more fully developed response to it may be detected in the tenth century in the Bible of Leo (cod. Vat. Reg. gr. 1). The second text which might be considered as influencing the iconographic planning of the Room is the *Acts of Constantinople IV*.¹³⁰ The third canon, drawn up on 28 February 870, recommends images to be used in much the same manner as here. It decrees that the image of Christ ought to be honored and venerated as the equal of the Gospel Book and representations of the Holy Cross, and so should images of the Virgin and of all the saints and angels. The types of saints to be honored and venerated are listed as Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, and the rest. The canon also offered the justification for the use of icons that unless a man venerates the images of Christ and the saints, he may be in danger of failing to recognize them on the Day of Judgment. Grabar has already observed the possible influence of such reasoning on this Room, pointing to the inclusion in the program of visionaries, such as Ezekiel, Stephen, Constantine, and Helena, who convey the importance of sight for the future recognition of Christ.¹³¹ Walter has summed up the theological scheme of the Room as a portrayal of the witnesses of Christ from the Virgin and the Baptist to the apostles, prophets, Stephen, and Constantine, and, in addition, the iconophile patriarchs, who maintained that in contemplating an icon of Christ, one was contemplating God.¹³² Our problem in applying such texts is that, even if a relationship between statement and images is accepted, it remains to decide which comes first, theological statement or visual image. In these two cases, we incline to the opinion that the formulation precedes the visualization.¹³³

One final consideration is archeological. The Room Over the Vestibule was at some time given a thorough structural restoration with the replacement

¹²⁹ Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie" (note 42 *supra*), 1–316, esp. 169ff. on the doctrine of images, and 183ff. for the later accretions.

¹³⁰ For references, see note 111 *supra*.

¹³¹ Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (note 5 *supra*), esp. 241ff.

¹³² C. Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis," *REB*, 26 (1968), 311–36, esp. 329–30.

¹³³ For the suggestion of the contrary flow of ideas before Iconoclasm, cf. E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 85–150.

of the two southern vaults and the south window; the most likely occasion for this work would have been the adaptation of the surfaces for the present mosaics. There is also evidence of structural restoration in the Room Over the Ramp, but this work was relatively minor and seems limited to the blocking of the west tympanum window (fig. 17). The filling of the other three windows may be attributed to Turkish repairs—the south window fill is rubble, the east is integral on the right with the rebuilding of that part of the wall, and the north has the characteristic pink mortar of the Fossati. The fill of the west window is Byzantine brick, and over the lower part of its surface are the fragmentary remains of a first rendering layer for a decoration now lost. Obviously there is a case for attributing this fill to the work of Patriarch Nicetas or to some other phase, but the evidence that the surface received a decoration encourages us to suggest that the window was filled when the vaults of the Room Over the Vestibule directly behind it were rebuilt and decorated with mosaic.

To date this fill of the west window of the Room Over the Ramp to the same time as the remodeling of the Room Over the Vestibule does not explain its purpose. Since the new vaults came up no higher than their predecessors, if our reconstruction of the Room Over the Vestibule in its previous form is correct, then the window was not closed because its light was blocked. The explanation suggested by the modern articulation of the exterior roofing is that during the structural repairs the builders decided to fill in the roof valley between the two rooms, either because rain water was giving trouble or for simplicity and economy.

The archeological evidence therefore implies an extensive restoration of the roof of the Patriarchate at the time of the ninth-century mosaic decoration. It is tempting to see the cause of this work in the natural disaster of October 870 which is described in the *Vita Ignatii*.¹³⁴ A sudden violent gale damaged many churches and palaces in Constantinople, and, particularly, the lead roof of the Patriarchate was blown off and thrown to the ground. This event gives a compelling context for the restoration of the Room Over the Vestibule soon after October 870.

The indications for a chronology which have been discussed are compatible with a precise date immediately after October 870. In this case the patriarch responsible for the decoration must have been Ignatios, and so we have a point of comparison for works, both miniature and monumental, which have been associated with the organization of Photios. Only one aspect of this comparison will be noted here, and that is the quality of the mosaic work in the Room Over the Vestibule; certain weaknesses in the figure style in comparison with the naos of St. Sophia have already been the subject of comment. Can it be that Ignatios, who did not train a team of mosaicists during his first period of office, was the victim of his own Council of 869–70? According to canon seven, those anathematized by the Council ought not to

¹³⁴ Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Vita Ignatii*, PG, 105, col. 549.

paint holy images; anyone who admitted these people (e.g., Photianists) into churches to paint holy images or to teach would have lost his rank if he were a priest or been excommunicated if a layman.¹³⁵ Insofar as this decree is aimed against artists who supported Photios, its formulation reflects on the status of artists in the ninth century. Of more practical importance, it may have lost Ignatios the services of an experienced workshop.

The identification of the Room Over the Ramp as the Small *Sekreton* implies that the Room Over the Vestibule was the Large *Sekreton*, for the evidence of the texts is that these offices were adjacent. From the evidence of the ceremonial use of the Large *Sekreton* in the tenth century described by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, it can be deduced that it was a gracious *triklinos* of some size.¹³⁶

A remaining date problem is the ornamental mosaics of the Alcove. Since its structure belongs to the original Justinianic part of the southwest ramp tower, only the internal indications of the mosaics can help to determine their period. Since the decoration can be characterized as a weaker and coarser reflection of the Room Over the Ramp a Justinianic date is not likely, for the mosaics of the Room cannot be regarded as copies of the Alcove, and it would be redundant to postulate a common source. The Alcove mosaics could have been contemporary with those of the Room, but, even allowing for carelessness in a secondary structure, the technique points to medieval rather than a sixth-century or even iconoclastic date.¹³⁷

The apparent use of terracotta tesserae in the Alcove, the color of the plaster fills, and the type of the cornice seem to point to the same workshop practice of the decorators of the Room Over the Vestibule. An attribution of the Alcove mosaics to the ninth century is also given support by extending the field of comparison to the west gallery of St. Sophia. Until the Fossati repairs, fragments of the ornamental mosaics of this gallery were preserved in a precarious state. Mango has sifted the essential information recorded in drawings.¹³⁸ Of particular interest is the rayed cross represented on the church side of the doorway of the Room Over the Vestibule. This cross with decorated arms was enclosed within a blue medallion, and in the ring nearest to the crossing of the arms the rays were portrayed in white tesserae, as is the case in the Alcove medallions. On each side of the medallion was a floral design, and this resembled the shrubs with "lilies" and four-petaled flowers found

¹³⁵ See also F. Dvornik, "The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 7 (1953) 69–97.

¹³⁶ For documentation, see notes 142–47 *infra*.

¹³⁷ The ninth-century mosaics of the tympana of St. Sophia are similarly untidy and substitute cheaper materials; see Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 21–22. At first sight the ribbon border in the Alcove seems a likely index of sixth-century date, but later parallels are available. A ribbon occurs in the circular border around a cross in the recently uncovered vaults of the south aisle of St. Eirene (iconoclastic period?). In the early Macedonian period, both the ribbon and laurel leaf borders may be paralleled in manuscripts (e.g., Princeton, Univ. Lib. cod. Garrett 6; cod. Vat. gr. 1522; Leningrad, Publ. Lib. cod. gr. 21; and others).

¹³⁸ Mango, *Materials*, 40–42, pls. 39–49. Such drawings are not decisive for stylistic purposes.

in the south window of the Room Over the Vestibule. Mango suggested that the decoration of the west gallery belonged to the same period as that of the Room Over the Vestibule. Perhaps the mosaics of the Alcove are to be attributed to the same campaign. The great west arch of the church was likewise decorated in the 870's.¹³⁹

The position of the Alcove beside the oratory in the Large *Sekretion* leads us to suggest its function may have been as a sort of diakonikon or even metatorion, and we have also speculated whether the present flooring might belong to the ninth-century alterations of the rooms. It is, however, impossible to identify the metatorion of the patriarch or that of the emperor in the gallery with a space of this size or in this position. There is the alternative possibility that in the ninth century the Alcove was adapted as the ceremonial way between the two *Sekreta*.

FUNCTION OF ROOMS

The identification of the Rooms which has been accepted in the course of this paper depends on the association of a number of factors. This case can now be briefly restated, and expanded by a consideration of the ceremonial use of this part of St. Sophia. First, we demonstrated that there was a major alteration to the southwest corner of St. Sophia after the completion of the church but within the sixth century. This work was identified as the construction of the Patriarchal Palace of John III Scholasticus (565–77), since it conforms with the date and position of this Palace as documented in primary texts. The second step was to identify the Room Over the Ramp as the Small *Sekretion* of the Patriarchal Palace, because the mosaic decoration in it conforms with the description of its state in 768/69. The third step was to identify the Room Over the Vestibule as the Large *Sekretion* since it lies beside the Small *Sekretion*. It was also noted that the rebuilding of the ceiling of the Room Over the Vestibule would correspond with the record that the roof of the Patriarchal Palace was blown off in October 870. Let us now add some further corroboration.

Mango, in his translation of the passage of the *Breviarium* of Patriarch Nikephoros on the iconoclastic act of Nicetas, characterizes the *Sekreta* as reception rooms.¹⁴⁰ More specifically, the text describes them as the place where processions were formed. Mathews has pointed out that since the Early

¹³⁹ Mango and Hawkins, "Church Fathers," 32–35, reject the deductions of C. D. Sheppard, "A Radiocarbon Date for the Wooden Tie Beams in the West Gallery of St. Sophia, Istanbul," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 237–40, based on (uncalibrated) radiocarbon datings of the casings of these beams; they date this ornament to the sixth century. The issue extends to the other tie beams and their evidence in assessing structural changes (e.g., in the gallery vaults behind the tympana) or other alterations (e.g., the date of the erection of the marble partition in the south gallery, of sixth-century workmanship, which is surmounted by an ornamented tie beam). In the cupboard of the Room Over the Ramp, the fresco decoration is conceivably of ninth-century date: the stepped pyramid design in the border has a parallel in the borders of the Room Over the Vestibule.

¹⁴⁰ Mango, *Art*, 153.

Byzantine churches like St. Sophia had no diakonikon near the altar for vesting and devesting, the celebrant needed some place from which to commence the procession into the church and to which he would return.¹⁴¹ One function for the *Sekreta*, then, from the time of John III Scholasticus, could have been to provide such a location.

Information on the ceremonial when the emperor participated in the liturgy is supplied by the *Book of Ceremonies*: this occurred in the tenth century on no more than nineteen regular occasions in the year.¹⁴² This text is supplemented by the so-called *Kleterologion* of Philotheos, which specifies the infrequent occasions when great state functions took place in the *Sekreta*.¹⁴³

The patriarch gave the emperor and his court breakfast in the Large *Sekreton* on the Tuesday of the last week before Lent (cheese-fare week), the day of Instruction.¹⁴⁴ The second state function here was a week and a half later on the first Sunday in Lent (sixth Sunday before Easter), which was the day of the Prophets Moses, Aaron, and Samuel. More significant, it was, by the period of these texts, the Sunday of Orthodoxy, the day on which the *Synodikon* was read. On this day, the Emperor and his suite formed a procession in the Large *Sekreton* before the liturgy, and were supplied there with candles.¹⁴⁵ After the liturgy, the imperial suite returned to the same room to be given breakfast by the patriarch.¹⁴⁶ The third occasion when a state function took place in the *Sekreta* was on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September).¹⁴⁷ The preliminaries again took place in the early morning in the south gallery of St. Sophia and the Patriarchal Palace. From the gallery the emperor followed the patriarch into the Small *Sekreton* where they venerated the relics of the True Cross. They passed from there into the Large *Sekreton* to form the candle-lit procession to convey the relics down to the ambo in the nave of the church. It may be that these three rites were instituted in the period after Iconoclasm.

The route taken by the procession on the Sunday of Orthodoxy and on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross is specified stage by stage in the *Book of Ceremonies*. The progress of the procession is intelligible on the assumption that it set out from the Room Over the Vestibule and traveled down the southwest ramp.¹⁴⁸ From the Large *Sekreton* the procession went down through

¹⁴¹ Mathews, *Early Churches*, 173.

¹⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, 113; and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, *Le livre des cérémonies*, I,1, ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1935).

¹⁴³ See J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911); and N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), esp. 65–235. The nucleus of this text was compiled by September 899, but there are later additions; cf. Der Nersessian, "La fête de l'exaltation de la Croix," in *Etudes byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973), 109–12.

¹⁴⁴ *Kleterologion*, chap. 760 (Bury, *op. cit.*, 165; Oikonomides, *op. cit.*, 193).

¹⁴⁵ *De Cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, chap. 37 (28).

¹⁴⁶ *Kleterologion*, chap. 761 (Bury, *op. cit.*, 165–66; Oikonomides, *op. cit.*, 195).

¹⁴⁷ *De Cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, chap. 31 (22).

¹⁴⁸ Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, esp. 52–54, who accepts the identification of the Room Over the Vestibule as the Large *Sekreton*, interprets the progress of the procession differently. The crux is the identification of the Μέγας κοχλίας. Our main points of disagreement with Strube's identification of this as another staircase in the Patriarchal Palace (the one displaced in Turkish times by the

the large ramp (διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου κοχλίου) and, turning to the left, passed through the *didaskaleion* (διὰ τοῦ διδασκαλείου), where, it is noted, were written the Paschal tables. The location of the *didaskaleion* has long been the subject of controversy.¹⁴⁹ As we understand the route, the procession came down the southwest ramp and emerged from its main west door into the southwest vestibule, where it turned left. The *didaskaleion* is therefore either the vestibule itself or, perhaps more likely, a ground-floor space near the Horologion and southwest Baptistery (the area is liturgically appropriate for the display of the Paschal tables). From here, the procession went down "the steps." Thereafter, on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, the procession went straight to the great door of the narthex and to the imperial doors from which entrance was made into the naos. On the Sunday of Orthodoxy, after traversing the

southwest minaret, but whose traces have been noted, e.g., by J. Ebersolt, *Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople: étude de topographie d'après les cérémonies* [Paris, 1910], 29) are as follows: (a) The fact that the *Book of Ceremonies* does not specify that the procession went out into the gallery to gain access to the top of the southwest ramp should not be pressed as meaning the staircase was inside the Patriarchal Palace, for the text can hardly be expected to cover every part of the route. (b) There is a difficulty in accepting the southwest ramp as the Μέγας κοχλίας when it is the smallest in dimension of the ramps (as observed by E. M. Antoniadēs, Ἐκφράσις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, II [Leipzig–Athens, 1908], 245–47 and fig. 324). There is, however, the possibility that the alternative staircase was even smaller—we regard this second staircase as the internal private communication between the several stories in this area. We would resolve the difficulty by taking the term μέγας to refer not to its size but to its importance. (c) In our view, there were two doors leading out of this ramp from the beginning, but the main one was that on the western side going directly into the vestibule. (d) The lack of any reference on this route to the ὠραία πύλη, which Strube identifies as the present south entrance door into the vestibule, could be explained in two alternative ways without dislodging our interpretation. Either it was not mentioned because it was not relevant to the ceremonial of this day or this identification is incorrect. Concerning the first alternative, we leave it an open question whether the procession on turning left out of the west door of the ramp either bore left and went through the opening in the center bay of the west side of the vestibule and passed through the ground-floor room(s) beside the Horologion, or turned at an angle of ninety degrees to make an exit through the south door of the vestibule. In neither case does it appear that any special stop was made in this area.

Concerning the vexed question of the identity of the Beautiful Gate, opinion has long been polarized between two candidates (cf. Mango, *Materials*, 97): the south door of the vestibule or the main west door of the church. The case for the main west door was argued with full documentation by D. F. Bēljaev, *Byzantina. Očerki, materialy i zamētki po vizantijskim drevnostjam*, II (St. Petersburg, 1893), esp. 90 ff., and this view was supported by Ebersolt. One point made against this by Strube is that only post-Justinianic texts mention the Beautiful Gate, and that it should therefore be identified with some alteration to the church, in which case the bronze doors of Theophilos are an ideal candidate. This argument can still be balanced against those for the west door of the church. The term might, for example, refer not to the artistic qualities of the door, but may have developed out of some kind of association of the church with the Temple of Solomon. This suggestion raises further difficulties, for it may depend on the Byzantine exegesis of Acts 3:1–10, where the healing of the lame man at the beautiful gate is reported. According to J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London, 1972), 55–57, during Raphael's life it was thought that this was not the entrance gate to the Temple, but was between two of the *atria* around the Temple.

We do not think that our interpretation of the route would invalidate the identification with the vestibule door, but it may seem to support the case for the main west door.

¹⁴⁹ Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul* (note 30 *supra*), 43, placed the *didaskaleion* to the north of the atrium. This is unacceptable to us, and also to Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, 34. A. G. Paspates, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, trans. W. Metcalfe (London, 1893), 98, appears to identify the *didaskaleion* with the vestibule. Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, 28, suggests it was a school for catechumens; he notes that the church of St. Mary Chalkoprateia also had a *didaskaleion*. The possibility that the *didaskaleion* housed a "Patriarchal School" is treated skeptically by P. Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1974), esp. 67; he accepts its location in the southwest area of the church, but prefers to identify it as an office or archive collection.

steps, the procession did not go to the great narthex but turned left to reach the *athyr*, where it met a second procession. On this day, the emperor had come down unaccompanied by the patriarch, and only now did they meet. The patriarch headed a procession which had come through the streets from the Vlachernae church, where he had conducted an all-night vigil. Both processions now went to the narthex and imperial doors, where further rites are specified before they entered the naos. Ebersolt located the *athyr* on the south side of the atrium.¹⁵⁰ As we have followed the route, the procession, on emerging from the west door of the ramp, moved away from the entrance door of the southwest vestibule into the inner narthex of the church. Instead of entering the church here, it crossed the area of the Patriarchal Palace at the southwest corner of the church and descended into the atrium area before entering the outer narthex through the west façade. This means that in the first half of the tenth century the southwest vestibule was not the only ceremonial entrance to the church.¹⁵¹

The *Sekreta* had other functions apart from their use in the liturgical rites of St. Sophia, for they must have been the main offices of the patriarch.¹⁵² Episcopal committees met here for the routine business of the Great Church, for judicial hearings of cases against dissident bishops and heretics, for the discussion of broad ecclesiastical policy, and for extraordinary business.¹⁵³ To select only one example of the use of the Large *Sekreton*, it was here that on 20 July 1054 Michael Kerularios and his partisans met with the imperial envoys to argue the response to the Papal anathematization which had been laid on the altar of St. Sophia four days before.

The information implicit in the descriptions of the route of the imperial processions away from the Large *Sekreton* is, in our interpretation, further confirmation for the identification of our rooms. Obviously the *Sekreta* were in frequent use by the clergy of the Great Church, but the special state functions which took place there would explain, at least in part, the content of the mosaic decorations of the rooms. If the Room Over the Vestibule was the Large *Sekreton*, the references to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* which we have detected in its cycle receive appropriate and explicit justification. If the Room Over the Ramp was the Small *Sekreton*, its use for the display of the True Cross would account for the preservation of the iconoclastic decoration of

¹⁵⁰ Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, 6.

¹⁵¹ The mid-twelfth-century *ekphrasis* of the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* Michael (published by C. Mango and J. Parker, "A Twelfth-Century Description of St. Sophia," *DOP*, 14 [1960], 233–45) describes the church, starting with the *Augusteion* and then moving round into the atrium and thence into the narthex and nave. Even in the Palaeologan period after the Latin depredations of St. Sophia, the west doors of the exonarthex were used on an important holiday on the occasion of the visit of a Russian, Alexander the Clerk, between 1391 and 1397, though the normal entrance at this period was through the southwest vestibule; see Majeska, "St. Sophia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" (note 41 *supra*), 71–87.

¹⁵² *Kleterologion*, chap. 755 (Bury, *op. cit.*, 163, and Oikonomides, *op. cit.*, 185 [note 143 *supra*]), refers to thirty-six *παπᾶδες τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ Πατριάρχου*; *De Cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, 11, also mentions these *παπᾶδες* on the occasion of Easter banquets.

¹⁵³ See V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* (Paris, 1932); for the Large *Sekreton*, nos. 867 and 869, and 942; for the Small *Sekreton*, nos. 897, 900, 933, and 1019.

crosses in it.¹⁵⁴ The presence of this relic might have added another stimulus for the choice of the figures of Constantine and Helena on the vault near the door into the Room Over the Ramp.

In conclusion, the mosaics described in this report are identified with some confidence as the decorations of the two *Sekreta* of the Patriarchal Palace. They are of outstanding value in documenting a precisely dated visual environment for the center of Orthodoxy, and give an insight into the personal use of art by three patriarchs at turning points in the history of Byzantine art.

¹⁵⁴ A. Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), esp. 73ff. and cat. 43 and 66, collected information on the relics of the True Cross acquired by St. Sophia; but his account does not solve all the problems about their place of keeping and time of arrival. The fragment supposedly received by Constantine from Helena was venerated annually in the sixth century, and Justin II acquired a piece from Apamea (Cedrenus, Bonn ed., I, 684–85). Frolov supposed that the relic mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, ed. Vogt, chap. 31 (22), was kept permanently in the Small *Sekretion*, whereas Ebersolt thought it was simply brought over from safe-keeping elsewhere for this festival. The existence of a major piece within the Palace by the tenth century is noted by R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56), 125–40, esp. 136. The documentary evidence, therefore, does not allow any conclusion on the possibility that the Small *Sekretion* was a kind of Treasury from the beginning, though the evidence of its special decoration may offer a clue. An association of a treasury and a breakfast room occurred in the Vatican.